

Doktori Disszertáció

**The Construction of Gender  
in Hungarian Discourses**

Szlávi Anna

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## **The Construction of Gender in Hungarian Discourses**

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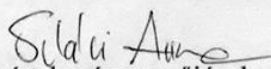
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a doktori értekezés szerzőjének aláírása

## DEDICATION

For Lajos & Lujzi

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

The present dissertation aims to uncover how gender is construed in present-day Hungarian discourses. Applying the theoretical and methodological frames of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), I am examining the assumptions, norms, and expectations about gender identity in contemporary Hungarian texts. The research analyzes how the national corpus, the media, advertising, and public art interpret gender, within the period of 2015-2018. The main question of the dissertation is how the ideology of binary gender and heteronormative power relations gets (re)produced in Hungarian discourses. Therefore, the general goal of the research is, first, to reveal the complex and subtle ways in which (hierarchical) social roles and identities are made to appear logical and natural through discursive means and, second, to offer alternative approaches to contest these seemingly commonsensical inequalities.

To conduct and to present a research project focusing on the gender construction in current-day Hungary is both timely and relevant. First of all, such a cross-discursive examination has not been made for the Hungarian context, to the extent of my knowledge. Second of all, the gender situation in Hungary has been critical recently. Even if patriarchal gender relations have a long history in Hungary, thus, gender inequality is not a new phenomenon (Marinovich & Arpad, 1995; Federmayer, 1999), in the last decade it became one of the most severe within the European Union. In fact, according to the Gender Gap Report (2017), Hungary is among the 40 countries with the largest gender gap in the world, and among the 10 with the worst political representation for women.

Despite the seriousness and the urgency of the problems, the Hungarian political elite turns a blind eye on addressing, let alone solving, them. In fact, over the course of 2018 several attempts were made to silence the voices that could present scholarly evidence to Hungary's social and gender problems. The government's attack on academic freedom, especially regarding research focusing on gender or sexuality, condemned as "liberal," first targeted the Central European University which offers majors on gender and sexuality, and on other minority issues as well. Then, the Center for Social Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences became the target. The latest development in this governmental campaign is that, just one year after its launch, Hungary's first gender studies major program at a state university<sup>1</sup> was shut down. In the words of Minister Zsolt Semjén, to talk about the social-

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, it happened at the very same university this dissertation is submitted for.

embeddedness of one's sex is just as nonsensical as to assume the same about one's age: as if a middle-aged person could decide "by free will that he/she wants to be 5 years old and go to kindergarten, or that he/she wants to be 90 years old and get pension from the state" (HVG, 2018). In other words, according to the current Hungarian government sex is a biological and deterministic condition which has no social implications. Since, in their view, there is no such thing as gender, "gender inequality" makes no sense either.

Exactly because the political discourse has started to deny the legitimacy of analyzing gender inequality, the role and responsibility of researchers is emphatic now. Examining a topic which has a current political relevance is crucial for a critical discourse analyst, who by definition is dedicated to uncovering how ideology is used to maintain unequal power relations. In fact, the analysis of verbal and visual language is essential to understanding how inequality in gender relations is normalized in mainstream discourses, and how it can be challenged by the means of alternative discourses. In this manner, the present dissertation intends to show, first of all, that gender is an existing and relevant matter. Then, it aims to reveal not only that Hungarian gender inequality is a real and acute problem but that discourse has an essential role in its production and reproduction. Third, the paper also attempts to uncover the pervasive and interwoven nature of discourses and their impact on identity and power relations.

To provide a reliable analysis of gender representation in Hungarian, I applied the following logic when selecting my material. First, I wanted to get a comprehensive picture of the gender construction of Hungarian language use, which was to serve as a starting point for the upcoming analyses of specific discourses. For this goal, I chose to examine the Hungarian National Corpus (Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár, in short: MNSz), the most comprehensive and representative corpus of the Hungarian (mostly written) language. The corpus-based examination took place in and reflects the situation of 2017.

After language use, I wanted to see how the concept of gender appears in specific discourses, first of all in the highly influential discourse of popular culture and media. In order to identify their gender trends, I decided to scrutinize what has been considered as one of the most powerful sources of persuasion regarding gender identity: women's and men's lifestyle magazines. I examined all the editions covering a whole year (2017-2018) of the most popular women's and men's magazines.

Closely related to media and similarly impactful, the – more heavily visual and multimodal – advertising discourse could not be left out of the scrutiny of gender construction. Given that outdoor advertisements or billboards are immensely popular in Hungary, they were the obvious choice for text analysis. The corpus of more than 150 billboards was put together over the course of three years, until the end of 2017.

Finally, in opposition to the above mainstream discourses, the last analytic chapter turned to introduce the possible subversive narratives of public art. Community murals, as alternative uses of outdoor space next to billboards analyzed in the preceding chapter, were selected as the texts of the discourse analysis. Collected in the time period of 2016-2017, roughly 60 murals were put under scrutiny for their representation of gender.

In each of the analytic chapters, the examination was driven by three main questions, which can be phrased like this:

**1) How is femininity and masculinity construed in Hungarian language and discourses?**

On the most general level, I wanted to see what the given texts had to say about femininity and masculinity. Once the general tendencies were uncovered, however, the research intended to bring more complex and more specific results to the fore. In order to identify what particular assumptions and expectations are normalized and reproduced regarding gender, or specifically about femininity and about masculinity, it is important to make a comprehensive analysis. It is essential to bring together, compare and contrast current mainstream discourses, so we get a more nuanced picture of what Hungarian people are exposed to and impacted by regarding their gender identity, that is, how to “do femininity” to be a woman or how to “do masculinity” to be a man. As a consequence, the second, more specific, question the dissertation wishes to get answered is as follows:

**2) Which are the specific characteristics, roles, and domains that are invariably associated with femininity and with masculinity throughout the examined discourses?**

By exploring the above issue, the most essential pillars of masculinity and femininity can be identified in contemporary Hungarian language and culture. These are the traits which are most thoroughly and most powerfully reproduced and rewarded, and whose absence is most strongly backgrounded and punished. How much is one’s (gender) identity one’s own choice? This question leads us to the ultimate query of the dissertation, which has to do with the

possibility of resisting these discursively normalized stereotypes. By the end of the research, I wish to find out whether and how it is possible to go against well entrenched gender roles.

Thus, the last question is:

**3) Are there (effective) alternative discourses about gender in Hungarian language and culture?**

Structurally, the dissertation is made up of seven chapters. After the present introductory section, Chapter 2 will move on to present the theoretical frames of the dissertation, providing a detailed analysis of the CDS methodology, along with the notion of gender and its relation to discourse.

The following four chapters comprise the analytical part of the dissertation, displaying the gender-focused examination of four sets of data, after an introduction of the specific CDS methodology applied. Chapter 3 focuses on language use, examining how gender appears in the Hungarian National Corpus. This chapter provides a comprehensive, quantitative-qualitative corpus based CDS research, which serves as the basis for the upcoming analyses of specific discourses. Chapter 4 puts popular culture and media discourse in the spotlight, examining gender construction in the main Hungarian lifestyle magazines. Given the nature of its material, this chapter moves beyond a strictly monomodal linguistic analysis, considering some aspects of visual language too. Chapter 5 turns to advertising discourse, analyzing how gender is construed on Hungarian billboards. Since the communication form of outdoor advertisements is heavily image-based, this chapter is an unambiguous attempt to provide a multimodal CDS analysis of advertising discourse. The last chapter in this section aims to move away from mainstream discourses: in Chapter 6 I am examining how public art, a communication form that often explicitly defies mainstream trends and social inequalities, copes with the issue of gender construction.

Finally, Chapter 7 wraps up the findings of the previous analytical part, summarizing the answers to the thesis questions which were posed at the beginning of the dissertation. In the conclusions of the study, I will identify the main discursive pillars of gender inequality in Hungarian language and culture. For example, the public sphere is still overwhelmingly assigned to masculinity, so is being active and self-assertive, which altogether shines some light on Hungary's extremely male-centered political representation. At the same time, the concluding remarks of the study also intend to offer ways to challenge discursive gender stereotypes. Finally, the dissertation closes with admitting its inevitable limitations and urges

for continuous efforts in exploring the impacts of discourse, on one's gender, sexual, or ethnic identity among others, in the Hungarian and in the global context.

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Frames**

### **2.1. Critical Discourse Studies**

The present research proposes to give a comprehensive analysis of Hungarian discourses regarding their gender construction. This entails that the examination is pronouncedly interdisciplinary, intentionally going beyond the traditional monomodal interpretation of language and discourse. In this section, I will briefly expose the theoretical frames of the dissertation, explaining the basic principles of Critical Discourse Studies as the theory and methodology of my research, while reflecting on the interconnections of gender and discourse.

Due to the critical stance of my examination and the multiplicity of discourses in the analysis, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) appeared to be the most suitable theory and methodology to base the dissertation on. In this part of the chapter, I will explain the basic terminology applied throughout the dissertation, such as “ideology,” “discourse,” and “text,” while explicating the foundations of CDS research and why it is the best fit for the present dissertation.

#### **2.1.1. Ideology, discourse, text**

Critical Discourse Studies, formerly known as Critical Discourse Analysis (Hart & Cap, 2014), is a theory and method of examining language use, linking linguistic analysis with social analysis. CDS views language to be social, active, and ideological, which has the power to enact identity (Richardson, 2007: 10-12). CDS primarily focuses on social problems as they manifest themselves in language use. CDS intends to uncover how discourse contributes to reproducing or resisting social inequality and the ideology behind it. According to CDS, discourse affects society and culture (and as such, identity), and it plays a role in “the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (Van Dijk, 2009: 96). In other words, CDS first and foremost is based on having a critical perspective (hence the adjective “critical” in its name), which strives to analyze and reveal how social power or ideology is represented and reproduced in (verbal, visual, etc.) language.

First of all, we need to get clear on what CDS means by “ideology.” Hegemony, a concept originating from Lenin and elaborated by Gramsci (1971), is used to describe Western capitalist control over the economic, political, and cultural domains of society.



Instead of subordination, hegemony is about alliances and consent; it is an “unstable equilibrium” which is partial and temporary. The ruling elite needs to constantly negotiate, through various ideological means like popular culture, media, or language use, to win the consent of the rest of the society, so what serves the interests of the elite can feel logical, natural, and inevitable for the rest too. In this negotiating process, certain forms of knowledge become more powerful and pervasive, influencing common sense thinking. What is just one interpretation of reality turns into a “regime of truth” (Foucault, 1972). Take for example the basic rewarding system in our society: getting paid for one’s work. The fact that it makes a huge difference what occupation one has, what country one lives in, or what gender one belongs to is common sense these days. Thanks to hegemonic discourses about the “principles” of market economy, the “hierarchy” of cultures, and “natural” gender roles, the unbalanced distribution of wealth seems logical and natural. Unequal power relations, therefore, are at the core of hegemony, but the struggle for maintaining or resisting them is a continual process. CDS claims that discourse is the main site of that struggle.

What is “discourse” then? It is vital to define how the notion of “discourse” will be used throughout the dissertation, because several overlapping or conflicting definitions exist side by side within linguistics and social sciences (see Van Dijk, 1985). “Discourse” sometimes refers to a linguistic unit larger than the sentence, sometimes to samples of spoken language as opposed to written “text.” However, CDS (and the present research) defines it both from a linguistic and a social perspective: “discourse” constitutes a larger sample of spoken or written language which construes knowledge according to a certain ideology (Fairclough, 1995: 73). It is, thus, a set of ideas, symbols, and practices that reproduce specific ways of interpreting the world. Discourse creates “‘subject positions’, that is, spaces for individuals to locate themselves within and define themselves through” (Baxter, 2010: 79). To return to the previous example of salaries, media discourses (still) fairly frequently define motherhood, as opposed to career advancement, as the ultimate reward in a woman’s life, thus normalizing the hegemonic social role for women, the family-centered mother, and not by the way justifying unequal pay based on gender.

It is, however, important to emphasize the role of the individual in this process. CDS presupposes active language users and claims that production, consumption, and understanding are all integral parts of the discourse event. Interpretation and resistance are optional and have a two-way effect. CDS underlines the dialectical relation between discourse and society: while discourse is shaped by context, namely by “situations, institutions, and

social structures, it also shapes them” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 55). That is, subversive interpretations and competing discourses can alter social reality; a change in discourse can lead to a change in society.

For CDS, therefore, “discourse” is a structured form of knowledge or social/ideological practice, which manifests itself in myriads of ways and forms. Such concrete utterances or documents (or images, etc.) are called “texts,” which are the particular products of the discourse process. To elaborate on the formerly presented discursive normalization of motherhood as a woman’s reward, let us consider a recent magazine article, a “text.” In its May 2018 edition, *Joy*, Hungary’s leading monthly magazine, published an interview with popular film star Eva Mendes. Due to her career achievements and her consequential celebrity status, Mendes is illustrated as a role model for independent, successful women (magazine readers). Despite this, the headline, thus the underlined message of the interview was, quoting the Hollywood celebrity, that being a mother is enough and worth more than anything (such as a rewarding, successful, world-famous filming career).

This article as a “text” reveals some of the basic assumptions of mainstream “discourse” regarding gender: such as people are either male or female; their roles in society depend on this distinction; women’s role is primarily childbearing; and so on. This discourse, in turn, is rooted in the “ideology” that assumes things are split up according to binary opposites, and gender is one such notion with men in control of the public sphere and women responsible for the private sphere (Joó, 2009).

### **2.1.2. Interdisciplinarity**

CDS emphasizes the social and interactional nature of language; consequently, the examination has to be multifaceted and multidimensional (Hart & Cap, 2014). According to CDS, it is not enough to examine the text, nor are purely quantitative textual analyses sufficient. The social-discursive context needs to be addressed too, so qualitative-contextual examinations are indispensable, along with interdiscursive considerations. Take Fairclough’s description of the levels of CDS analysis for example: first, the *textual analysis* uncovers how linguistic elements are used in the particular text to produce meaning; second, the *discourse analysis* reveals the underlying process of text production and consumption; and third, the *social analysis* exposes how all this relates to the wider society (1992: 8).

It must be emphasized, though, that this is just a vague structure of CDS research. There is not one distinct methodology which is characteristic to CDS; the applied methods

depend on the particular research project (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), which might call for the combination of approaches. Keeping in mind the multidimensionality of CDS research, Baker et al. (2008) for example decided to combine CDS with a corpus linguistic focus in their analysis of discourse regarding refugees. The reason why a corpus linguistic approach seemed to fit their research was that they wanted to create a balance between the typically quantitative corpus linguistics and the typically more qualitative CDS, for more comprehensive and representative results about xenophobia in language use.

Methodologically speaking, then, CDS is essentially fluid and interdisciplinary. What binds CDS research together is the perspective, that is, a social-critical, problem-oriented approach of “doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis” (Van Dijk, 1993: 131) in order to reveal the sources of social wrongs and the attempts to overcome them.

### **2.1.3. Multimodality**

Another key feature of CDS is a consideration for multimodality. As van Leeuwen (2014: 292) emphasizes, the majority of contemporary discourses, that is, the discourses that most need critical scrutiny, are overwhelmingly multimodal, combining several semiotic modes like verbality, viscosity, or sound, among others. Despite this, the majority of CDS research continues to focus on verbal/monomodal discourses.

Fairclough (2000), Wodak (2009), and van Leeuwen (2014), among others, suggest that the analysis of contemporary communication needs to start paying more attention to its multimodal nature. Especially genres that pronouncedly involve visual information, like advertising or popular culture, should receive more focus because their impact is more persuasive and harder to resist, which results that harmful stereotypes tend to persist more (Van Leeuwen, 2000: 335). The present research is not only interdisciplinary but it is also multimodal, acknowledging the importance of examining discourse in its complexity. A number of chapters scrutinize not only the verbal aspects of discourse but also the visual. The relevance of the dissertation, therefore, stands not only in the topic it addresses but also in its methodology. With the non-monomodal focus of the examination, I aim to contribute to the call that CDS shifts to multimodal discourse analyses.

## **2.2. Gender**

### **2.2.1. Category of gender**

Sexism has become a hot topic in the recent decades, especially in Western feminist research.<sup>2</sup> It has been shown that women and men are treated unequally in a wide variety of contexts, from education and employment (Nasser, 2015; Gibney, 2016), through politics and leadership (OECD Recommendation, 2016), to media and popular culture (McRobbie, 2000; Milestone & Meyer, 2012). Language use is no exception (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2004; Huszár, 2009). In fact, how we speak about men and women, that is, how discourse describes gender, reveals the very core of these inequalities. To start our examination of gender in discourse, we need to look at categorization first, which will take us to better understand our binary view of gender and its social and linguistic implications.

When analyzing language use, we are in fact analyzing mental processes (Lakoff, 1987: 58). Categorization is a basic phenomenon in language; nevertheless, it is not a linguistic but a cognitive process, which serves to help make sense of the world (Lakoff, 1987: 6). We categorize objects and living beings into smaller groups, based on their (perceived) shared properties. In order to quickly interpret a given situation, we activate our knowledge of the group the specific object or living being is perceived to belong to, instead of handling it on its own. For instance, objects which are “round or roundish bodies or masses,” using the definition of the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, are considered to be “balls.” Even if these objects are labeled as belonging to the same category, they may have very different physical and functional properties, being “sports tools,” “babies’ toys,” “globes,” or “projectiles in firearms,” among others. Despite this rather large variety within the group, when we say “ball,” people will most likely have a very similar image in their heads: a medium-sized ball that is a sports tool. It is so because categories are organized around “best examples,” so-called prototypes (Lakoff, 1987: 7), whose properties are applied stereotypically to the category as a reference point. Lakoff exemplifies this with the “mother” category. He explains that prototypically, the mother is (or rather, was in the 1980s) a woman who has given birth to a child (76) and who stays home with the baby (79). All the other types of mothers are less good examples and because they get compared to the prototype, they will be linguistically marked, such as *stepmother*, *adoptive mother*, *biological mother*, or *working mother*. Gender categorization is also based on such prototypization.

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<sup>2</sup> When explaining the basic concepts of gender, the present research builds heavily on Western scholarly literature as feminist research strives most in English language. When possible, Central Eastern European, or specifically Hungarian source are quoted as well.

Another form of categorization which is important to understand for the construction of gender is binary opposition. Dichotomies or binary opposites are fundamental organizers of human thinking (Joó, 2009: 11). “Day or night,” “light or dark,” “life or death,” “form or matter,” “right or left,” and so on, are defined against each other and leave no room for alternatives. One is either this or that. In his *Metaphysics* Aristotle adds the “man or woman” opposition as one of the binary principles. Some other binary pairs Western philosophy has used over the decades are “public or private,” “active or passive,” “rational or emotional,” “consciousness or instinct,” “mind or body,” and “subject or object,” among others. It might strike us that these opposites are not unfamiliar in the gender discourse. Indeed, these dichotomies often get paired up with (and used to justify) binary gender. As Bourdieu (2001) puts it when describing masculine domination, it is the division of the socially constructed biological body which serves as the basis for the sexual and social division of labor, and the hierarchical binary oppositions, which go far beyond the realm of sexual intercourse. The “public domain” belongs to the man, just as being “active” and “rational,” so he can produce symbolic capital (Hadas, 2003: 139). At the same time, the “private” is left for the woman, destined to be “passive” and “emotional.” Since she can have access to *symbolic capital* through the man, she needs to generate liking mainly through the beautification of her body. In short, the major cultural oppositions and the hierarchical relations of difference, rest on the division of the gendered body (Skeggs, 2004: 22).

### **2.2.2. Binary gender**

As we can see, categorization is a basic process and so are binary opposites. But why is it that among the many possible ways to categorize and divide people it is the woman-man dichotomy that prevails? This binary differentiation is based on three claims: first that biologically people are either male or female and their biological sex significantly determines their bodies; second that these gender-based differences are universal; and third that women/men form a uniform group (Meissner, 2011: 46).

The first claim revolves around the question of gender and sex. Binary gender, that is, the social categorization of people into women and men, is based on and justified by sex, a (seemingly) natural-biological distinction dividing people into males and females according to their bodies (Huszár, 2009: 20). This, biologically motivated, binary division rests on two pillars: the sex chromosomes and the genitals. In the majority of the cases, a person is born either with XX or XY chromosomes, which is responsible for developing their respective sexual organs. If a baby has the Y chromosome, it brings about the production of testosterone

and the development of the testes; otherwise, the baby will not have testosterone and the uterus and the vulva are developed. Despite the traditional view, though, the sex chromosomes are not always XX or XY, nor are one's genitals always in synch with one's sex chromosomes (Huszár, 2009: 21), hence challenging the dichotomic view, not to mention transsexual metamorphoses (Faludi, 2016). It can be said, though, that in most cases it still holds.

Nevertheless, apart from the reproductive functions, women and men are not that different in their genetics, more and more studies point out. Wheeling (2015), for example, reveals a study which claims, based on MRI evidence, that by looking at a person's brain scan it is not possible to determine their gender; that is, it makes no sense to talk about "female brain" or "male brain." In addition, it has also been shown that there are greater differences among men, or among women, that is, within the same group, than between individual men and individual women, that is, between the members of allegedly different groups (Huszár, 2009: 22; Murachver & Janssen, 2011: 137). Consequently, biology in itself does not justify the social emphasis on sex-based differences; thus, the binary categorization of people into women and men. It is reproduction, and the institutionalization of heterosexuality, that motivate binary gender: society forces people to "become a woman or a man," as Beauvoir puts it (1969: 8), so their attraction and potential role in reproduction can be assigned (Butler, 2007: 35). That people perceive their body as either female or male is not an a priori necessity but the result of the above mentioned social processes that activate and reproduce such an expectation (Butler, 2007: 10; Meissner, 2011: 48-49). That is, it is because we expect our bodies to be male or female that we will notice and emphasize (socially typically) masculine or feminine traits, while ignoring others.

The second claim that underlies this binary distinction is that gender differences and their binary nature are universal. In fact, what we perceive to be "naturally feminine" or "naturally masculine" is not at all natural, universal or timeless but it is how contemporary Western society interprets gender. Gender, and its significance for a society, changes from culture to culture, and from era to era. To show that our binary perception is just one of many interpretations, I will briefly present the "bacha posh" from Afghanistan, the "berdache" from Native American tribes, and the concept of *obinrin-okúnrin* from the West African Yoruba.

It has been a known and socially tolerated practice that in certain parts of the world, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Turkey, Albania, and Montenegro, parents dress their daughters as boys to rebel against traditional gender roles. In Afghanistan, where women's

and girls' situation, has been (and was especially in the Taliban era) the toughest, this phenomenon is called the "bacha posh" (Nordberg, 2014). It has manifold reasons why a family chose (or chooses) to turn their daughter into a son; one of them is to get an education, to take a job, or simply to go outside; in short, so she can see beyond the four walls. Bacha posh girls would report later that the experience to see the world through boys' privileges changed their lives, sometimes so profoundly that it would impact their bodies too. Menstruation and the growth of breasts have been reported to occasionally lag behind (Nordberg, 2014: 107). Normally, the cross-dressing ends upon puberty; nevertheless, it happens that some girls decide to remain bacha posh, to avoid a woman's duties, such as marriage and pregnancy, and instead, to have a man's rights, such as education and work. Currently, one representative in the Afghan Lower House is a bacha posh, so is a Commander in the Northern Provinces (Afghan Voice Agency).

An even more straightforward example of a culture that does not interpret gender as a dichotomic condition is certain 19<sup>th</sup> century Native American tribes that distinguished three, not two genders (Meissner, 2011: 49). The "berdache" people were permitted by the head of the tribe to wear clothing and/or to do work traditionally assigned to the other gender. Due to the strict division of labor, the people who crossed traditional gender roles were not considered women or men, but they became a third gender. In the case of the berdache, it is obvious that gender functioned as a (flexible) social role, not as a biologically determined, natural condition.

As it was mentioned before, the biological basis for binary gender is people's binary role in reproduction. This, however, does not justify why this one condition has to lead to social difference. Oyewumi's analysis of the African interpretation of gender, more specifically the example of pre-colonization Yoruba, demonstrates that "a distinction without social differentiation" (1997: 36) is possible. The Yoruba's terms "obinrin" and "okúnrin" distinguish people solely within the context of reproduction, without assigning any significance to their potential role in sex within any other social domains or presuming any correlation with personality traits or attraction. Comparable is how blood type is handled in our society: in the context of blood donation or organ transplantation one's blood type is highly relevant and distinguishes one from other people, but outside of this context it does not need to be specified nor do we expect social implications based on what group one belongs to. Contrary to this, gender has become a permanent label and a personal property – through

compulsory heterosexuality (Butler 2007) – that profoundly defines its bearer, while placing him/her in social hierarchy.

The third claim behind binary gender is that women, or men, are essentially the same, forming a uniform group. The above arguments contest the biological bases of how much it makes sense to group together people with the same reproductive organs outside of the context of reproduction. In fact, the main tenet of women's studies, and men's studies, is to demonstrate the variability of female, and male, experiences, portraying femininity and "masculinity and its various social forms as a historically and culturally determined specific human experience, instead of a universally valid experience" (Hadas, 2003: 146).

### **2.2.3. Intersectionality**

Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that it is the Theory of Intersectionality that best explains the impossibility of femininity/masculinity being a uniform and universal notion by revealing the interconnected nature of one's race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation (and so on) with one's gender (Crenshaw, 1989). The idea of intersectionality is linked to black feminist law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, who coined the term while researching the complicated and thus far overlooked experiences of black women, regarding for example workplace discrimination or sexual violence. Through analyzing controversial cases like *Degraffenreid v. General Motors* (1976) or Anita Hill's confession against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas (1990), Crenshaw pointed to the deficiency of feminism and antiracial efforts, as they failed to account for the multiple dimensions of identity and subordination – in these situations, of black women. "Because of their intersectional identity as both women *and* of color within discourses that are shaped to respond to one or the other, women of color are marginalized within both" (Crenshaw, 1989: 1244). To exemplify the above mentioned statement through the former case, in *Degraffenreid v. General Motors* the plaintiffs's claim that General Motors discriminated against black women was rejected on grounds that it had to be *either* a race *or* a sex discrimination suit, and GM was not found guilty in either, hence not guilty at all. Nevertheless, as Crenshaw reveals, "[w]omen of color experience racism in ways not always the same as those experienced by men of color and sexism in ways not always parallel to experiences of white women, [so] antiracism and sexism are limited, even on their own terms" (1989: 1252), which calls for a theory that enables us to handle multiple dimensions of identity.



Intersectionality underscores the differences within groups, pointing out that subordination operates on several axes of the identity; that is, one's gender interacts with one's race, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation (among others), creating new dimensions of disempowerment. Crenshaw (1989) demonstrates this with the intersectional examination of rape against black women. The legal discourse regarding rape has both sexist and racist dimensions. On the one hand, it is the female victim, not the male perpetrator, who gets scrutinized to determine the validity and the seriousness of the case. Her sexual history, her outfit, and her resistance are put under investigation to decide if she really was a victim or just a seducer who got what she was asking for. Law tightly regulates the sexuality of women (1270): if she is a good woman or a bad woman is the crucial question. If the woman seems to have an autonomous sex life, she is less likely to be vindicated (1267). On the other hand, the legal discourse is not colorblind either: the typical narrative is that the perpetrator is a black man and the victim is a white woman.

Due to racial stereotypes, black women are viewed as “innately” more sexualized, thus being “bad women” and not victims, which leads to the fact that black female victims are less likely to be believed (1271) and that the average prison time for the rape of a black woman is 2 years, while that of a white woman is 10 years (1269). Take for example, the famous (1989) case of the Central Park jogger, a white woman who was gang-raped by black teenagers. The story received large media coverage, which could not be said about the other 28 other horrific cases happening in the very same period, for example the case of a black woman who was raped, sodomized and thrown off a 4-story building (1268). As Crenshaw summarizes, it is the “sexual hierarchy in operation that holds certain female bodies in higher regard than others” (1269). The rape of a black female body is viewed to be less serious, since rape is measured against the victim, which is a clear case of gender-based discrimination, and black bodies are considered to value less, which, in turn, highlights that black women are inflicted by racial subordination as well.

So, to return to the third aspect of binary gender, the category of “woman” cannot be uniform or universal, simply because it is not the only social differentiation one is assigned to. Gender is bound to and intersects with other dimensions of social distinction, like ethnicity or sexuality. To apply the issue to the Hungarian context, a gypsy woman who is a lesbian, for instance, experiences her womanness (or her ethnicity or her homosexuality) very differently from a white heterosexual woman, a white lesbian woman or a gypsy heterosexual woman (and so on). Just like outside of the woman category, there are privileges and oppressions

within the category as well. For instance, the very claim that the group is uniform (with “typical feminine” properties, involving certain appearance, certain behavior, and certain interests, which we see in popular culture) reflects not just a simplified perception but also unequal power relations, through the invisibility of women other than white middle-class heterosexuals who are the models of such stereotypes (Meissner, 2011: 46). Identity is complex, one’s reproductive organs being but one characteristic.

In conclusion, even if gender is not a natural phenomenon, it has become an essential segment of identity. As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 10) put it, “[g]ender is not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do (West & Zimmerman, 1987),” or rather something we perform (Butler, 2007). As binary gender distinction is required by society to facilitate heterosexual reproduction, we need to construct our gender identity through repetitive performances, behaviors, and narratives – aligning with the gender roles defined by the dominant ideology, or cultural hegemony, a term coined by Gramsci (1971).

In today’s ideology, binary gender is, on the one hand, “hegemonic masculinity,” with “emphasized femininity” on the other (Milestone & Meyer 2012: 19). The assigned characteristics of the ideal man are that he is rational, strong, intelligent, sex-driven, and work-oriented. Alternative masculinities like gay and metrosexual masculinities exist (Hadas, 2003), but they are marginalized in favor of the above, traditional, characteristics. The other gender is defined against and subordinated to (hegemonic) masculinity; the ideal woman is meant to complement the man, acting as “flattering mirrors” for him (Woolf in Hadas, 2003: 140). She is expected to be emotional, kind, caring, passive, and home-oriented. Femininity is viewed from a (heteronormative) androcentric perspective, in which its value is assessed according to its compatibility with hegemonic masculine values.

Hegemonic ideologies regulate not only gendered behavior but also the gendered body. Especially in the case of femininity body control is emphatically obvious. Women’s bodies are objected to serious beauty standards, and regulations and are more severely punished than men if they fail to live up to them, in Bourdieu’s (2001) term, to have access to men’s *symbolic capital*. The fact that the female body is a political battlefield (it is enough to think of the issues of abortion, domestic violence, female genital mutilation, and the veiling of the female body, among others) has to do with the notion that it is identified with its reproductive ability (in fact, its reproductive *function*); thus, it is perceived to be a social

matter, not a personal. Discourses such as national language use, popular culture, or advertising, are the key means to regulate gender roles.

#### **2.2.4. Gender in Hungary**

Before we get to the analysis of gender in Hungarian discourses, we need to briefly look at the gender situation in the Hungarian society. Hungary has been part of the OECD since 1996 and the European Union since 2004. As such, the country is supposed to be among the most progressive communities in the world as far as human rights are concerned. If we look at the statistics, however, we are faced with a different reality. According to The Global Gender Gap Report (2017), Hungary is only the 103<sup>th</sup> country, out of 144, in gender equality, which is one of the worst both within the OECD region and the EU.

In the last ten years, the gender gap has significantly widened in Hungary: in 2006 the country held the 55<sup>th</sup> position on the above mentioned list. In a decade Hungary doubled its score on the gender inequality list, positioning itself in the worst third. Generally, each of the four categories (women's economic opportunities, education, health, and political participation) witnessed a decline, but the single reason that accounts for this striking difference is the emphatic exclusion of women from higher political positions. In Hungary, the main source of women's inequality stems from their low political representation, which has been less than 9% in the last 8 years, making Hungary the 7<sup>th</sup> least gender-equal country on the 2017 list (in this category). No wonder, as the current political leadership is pronouncedly replacing women's rights with family mainstreaming (Juhász, 2012) and systematically silencing those that would address "gender problems" in Hungary (Adam, 2018).

It must be admitted, though, that for the backward situation of Hungarian gender (and queer) policies it is not only the current government to blame. The general depreciation and stigma of feminist (and gay rights) activism, which is the main barrier in the fight for equality, is the heritage of the authoritative state socialism, imposed on Hungary for more than 40 years. After World War II, Hungary was taken over by the Soviets, who melted the country into their Eastern Bloc. The Socialist People's Republic of Hungary, that is, the Soviet occupation of the country, was not overturned till 1990. The revolution of 1956 softened up the system but did not break it. According to the socialist ideology, there was no "woman issue," simply because men and women were considered equal, at least on the theoretical level, working hand in hand for the common good (Huszár, 2011: 66). Women gained voting

rights at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they could and were urged to enter the labor market during the world wars, political positions opened up for them, and even “women’s day” was established by Soviet Alexandra Kollontai who was the first female cabinet member in the USSR and the first female ambassador in the world (Huszár, 2011: 65). She founded the “Women’s Department.” Even though her most important achievement was her fight for women’s equality, she opposed to feminism, labeling it bourgeois.

Nevertheless, state socialism contributed to women’s emancipation, even in Hungary. Women received full voting rights in 1945, and after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War they were forced to start working since in Socialist Hungary employment was mandatory. In order to facilitate women to enter the labor market, the state founded companies like Patyolat, a public laundry service, so some of the domestic chores that kept women inside the house and out of the labor market could be managed by paid employees. *Nők Lapja* (“Women’s Magazine”), the state-funded print medium designated to address women’s issues, worked hard to spread the image of the “working woman,” and later in the 60s the “working mother” (Huszár, 2011: 126).

Women, for the first time, could step out of their homes, into the public sphere, to earn money, which was definitely a gain in women’s march for equality. Nevertheless, it did not entail at all that men in return stepped in and shared the burdens of the domestic sphere. The woman was liberated from the role of the mother, only to be empowered to fill the role of the “working mother.” From that point on, it appeared as if women had the same rights as men; their double burden, though, was never addressed in the socialist era. The closed ideological system, demanding uniformity, controlled and restricted in manifold ways people’s private and professional life. Therefore, the progress in gender (and queer) rights was put to a halt till the change of the regime, that is, till some 30 years ago. Even more so, as Socialist Hungary was cut from Western, especially, American, thoughts and developments (Barát, et al., 2004); as a consequence, the ideas of Women’s Liberation and the Gay Rights Movement of the 1960s arrived to Hungary not earlier than the 1990s. The first feminist organizations were formed between 1991 and 1994 and the first Gay Pride was organized in 1997.

The regime change, making room for a more open society and feminism, promised to improve gender rights in Hungary (Barát, 2005). Feminist associations were established; the discourse about (in)equality began. Most of the organizations, however, collapsed in a couple of years, for lack of financial and social support. The organizations failed to find a strong social basis for their activities (Bozzi & Czene, 2006). The main reason was ideology: in the public opinion, the word *feminist* was handled as synonymous with “lesbian,” “misandrous,”

“aggressive,” and “American” (Barát, et al., 2004; Barát, 2005), in short, subversive. The public and scientific discourse portrayed feminism as “another ideology, *consequently*, dangerous” – a relation Hungarians learned from the painful lesson of recent socialism.

Pop culture and media were also busy to prove why Hungary did not need feminism: for one, as it contained ideas (like women as workers) that it shared with despised socialism, and for two, it was a trend that spread from the US, which Hungarians learned to categorically oppose to in the previous 50 years (Barát, et al., 2004). Hungary’s recent state socialism left an ambivalent feeling in its people about feminist activism and gender equality. The instinctive reaction of denying or excusing for a feminist self-definition is still detectable in many, even intellectual, women (Pető, 2010).

With the regime change, one-third of the women employed in the socialist era were forced back to their homes (Pető, 2010). In the definition of the new social and political system, a heteronormative and nationalistic rhetoric came to dominate the discourse. Following traditional family models, women were expected to once again concentrate on household duties, so men could control the public sphere. After 1990, Hungary had the most disproportionate parliament in Europe, concerning the representation of the two sexes (Pető, 2010). In the past ten years, the gender gap in Hungary became the widest in the region, positioning Hungary among the 50 worst countries for women in the world (The Gender Gap Index, 2017). The upcoming chapters will attempt to show how discourse has contributed to this imbalance.

## **2.3. Gender and discourse**

### **2.3.1. Sexism in discourse**

The measure and specificities of gender inequality vary from region to region but its very existence is worldwide (NIKK, 2016). Sexist discourses have been analyzed in a variety of contexts and forms. Discourse is one of the main means to maintain and reinforce sexist social practices, by normalizing certain interpretations and pathologizing others.

For a linguist, the most obvious form of examining the discursive construction of gender is to analyze language use. Myriads of studies exploring certain aspects of sexist language use were published in the past decades (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2004; Huszár, 2009; Juhász & Kegyesné, 2011; among others). Sexism and

gender inequality have been analyzed within a great number of discourses (even if overwhelmingly in Western countries). For example, Lazar (2009) examines the advertising discourse, revealing multimodal metaphors that conceptualize beautification as a war and women's bodies as the battleground, thus exposing that the feminine body is illustrated as inherently problematic, needing to be fixed. Ehrich (2011) analyzes legal discourse specifically in trials for rape cases, uncovering how gender stereotypes such as "women are passive" and "men are aggressive" shape trial discourse and practically justify gender-based violence. Flicker (2011) looks at the discourse underlying the interpersonal dynamics of reality television shows, one of the most popular genres on TV lately. Her research exposes some of the rewarding and punishing behaviors aimed at keeping the normalized gender roles under control. Mattei (2011) scrutinizes women's place in the legislative discourse, pointing out that while more and more women can take part in (US) legislation, their participation is still unequal: women are interrupted much more, their authority is challenged much more, while their speaking time is much less compared to their male colleagues, all of which underline that the public sphere is still not "feminine."

### **2.3.2. Sexism in Critical Discourse Studies**

The above analyses, like the majority of research conducted within women's studies, place gender within a specific context (like advertising, law, reality shows, or legislation), which is their benefit but also their limitation. They do contribute to the picture, but they cannot expose the real depths and degrees of sexism in language, exactly due to their limited focus. As Mautner (2009: 122) puts it, the larger the text under scrutiny, the more objective and reliable the results are likely to be. Therefore, CDA analyses that intend to uncover discursive sexism could greatly benefit from comprehensive and extensive examinations, such as the present research, which not only analyzes several discourses but uses large corpora.

Applying corpus linguistics, which bases its analysis on a large and principled collection of "texts," a so-called corpus (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 11), within a CDS research has been a trend since the mid-2000s (Baker, 2014b), mainly to balance quantitative, statistics-based analysis with qualitative, context-sensitive examinations. The corpus linguistic approach applies both computer automated and interactive processing methods and produces empirical, mainly quantitative but also qualitative results (Crawford & Csomay, 2016: 8). As a consequence, this methodology is specifically suitable to approach language use critically and identify sexism in discourse. Apart from extracting frequency information regarding a lemma (such as "woman" or "man"), we can also identify lexical patterns such as

collocations, to see what actual language use most often associates to, say, the two genders. As Baker (2014a: 197) points out in his detailed summary on how to use corpora to analyze gender, “the corpus in itself does not always yield explanation for language patterns”; therefore, it is best to combine contextually focused qualitative analyses with quantitative examinations. By qualitatively analyzing randomly selected concordance lines, we can provide explanations to the language patterns identified by the quantitative research.

Despite its clear benefits, researchers of gender have neglected corpus linguistics. Recently, however, more and more research has applied corpus linguistic methodology to explore the gender situation of a given language. So far analyses have focused on the English language primarily. Sigley & Holmes (2002) examine gender in various English corpora; Pearce (2008) looks at British English; Azher et al. (2014) compares British with Pakistani; and Bakar (2014) explores gender representation, refreshingly in a Malaysian corpus. Each of the analyses identify gender-specific patterns in their corpora, most of the time sexism towards women. Almost all of the studies point out that male pronouns significantly outnumber female pronouns, even if the trend is getting better (nowadays it is about 2:1, while it used to be 5:1, as mentioned in Sigley & Holmes, 2002)<sup>3</sup>. A further finding is that women are more often referred to collectively (“women”) than individually (“woman”) as opposed to men (Pearce, 2008). When it comes to collocations, men appear in the context of power and status much more than women, while women are frequently coupled with appearance and relationships, in Pakistani explicitly as inferior and struggling (Azher et al., 2014). A large asset of corpus linguistic analyses is that the results are quantifiable, as the imbalance is expressed by solid numbers, and the risk of subjectivity, a recurring criticism of CDS, is lower.

In Hungarian, there has not been a comprehensive corpus linguistic CDS analysis of gender yet, to the best of my knowledge. Researching the linguistic manifestations of gender stereotypes in the Hungarian national corpus of the early 2000s, Kegyesné’s (2004) conference speech revisited Anh’s (2001) sociological findings regarding gender marker attributes in Hungarian. She concluded that the main adjectives co-occurring with the NŐ (“woman”) lemma are those connected to looks (such as “beautiful” and “blonde”), but more progressive adjectives are present as well (“feminist” and “ambitious”). At the same time,

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<sup>3</sup> In dictionary analyses, the results seem to remain fairly unbalanced: according to Baigent, Brewer, & Larmini’s (2005) examination of two versions of the Oxford English Dictionary, male pronouns are still five times more frequent than female pronouns. Another research, of The Collins-Cobuild Dictionary, drew very similar conclusions regarding the number of male vs female occurrences (Kangasniemi, 2002).

collocations connected to FÉRFI (“man”) seem to be more conservative: “aggressive,” “brave,” and “strong” are top adjectives for men in the early 2000s.

A more recent study of Szöllősy (2012), using some corpus-related examinations, researched gender in Hungarian monolingual dictionaries<sup>4</sup>. Her conclusions are highly relevant for my analysis, so I am discussing her study in more detail. Szöllősy starts her study by pointing out that due to their prestigious role and normative function dictionaries have an enormous influence on conserving and normalizing values, among them, social stereotypes (14). Dictionaries are long-term enterprises; they are meant to serve language users for decades. As a consequence, the picture it paints of a language, that is, the choices their editors make, are there to influence, or even manipulate, speakers for a long time (11). Quoting a number of social psychological experiments conducted by Banaji and her colleagues, Szöllősy reveals that even a small number of stereotypical sentences can shape one’s perception and treatment of other people (15-17). Prejudice is planted or reinforced especially when the stereotypical statement is placed within a seemingly irrelevant context, thus, affecting the subconscious. Dictionaries can significantly contribute to planting and reinforcing prejudice, due to their normative role and repetitive associations.

Previously, textbooks have been put into extensive scrutiny regarding their gender portrayal. Szöllősy quotes 8 studies, published between 1978 and 2012, which expose serious imbalance in the representation of women and men, and girls and boys. The findings include that men and boys appear much more frequently, both in the examples and the illustrations, than women and girls. The large majority of inspirational characters (like literary heroes or famous people) are men and most of the authors quoted are also men. Women are illustrated in traditional roles, like doing housework or raising children, while men appear in a wide variety of contexts and activities. Sports are almost exclusively men’s and boys’ territory. In the case of men, inner values are emphasized, whereas for women looks are the most important (44-45). Due to the repetitive portrayal of these gender inequalities, textbooks undoubtedly expose students to a “hidden curriculum” regarding social roles.

Szöllősy claims that dictionaries are comparably influential and responsible for spreading gender imbalance. She analyzed the gender representation of five monolingual

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<sup>4</sup> She examined the following monolingual dictionaries: *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára I-VII* (edited by Géza Bárczi & László Országh), *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár* first edition (edited by József Juhász, István Szőke, Gábor O. Nagy, & Miklós Kovalovszky), *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár* second edition (edited by Ferenc Pusztai), *Képes diákszótár* (edited by László Grétsy & Gábor Kemény), and *Értelmező szótár+ I-II* (edited by Vilma Eőry).



dictionaries from three aspects: first, she compared full entries of related gender words, like FÉRFI (“man”) with NŐ (“woman”), FIÚ (“boy”) with LÁNY (“girl”), FÉRJ (“husband”) with FELESÉG (“wife”), BÁCSI (“old man”) with NÉNI (“old woman”), and so on (53). Then she examined example sentences of randomly selected, non-related entries, looking for gendered occurrences. Finally, she looked at the illustrations of three of the dictionaries (as the rest did not have them). To validate her findings, Szöllősy checked the adjective collocations of some of the gender-words in the Hungarian national corpus (*Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár*) as well.

She noticed three ways in which the five monolingual dictionaries in question appeared to contribute to gender discrimination: first, through harmful stereotypical comments; second, through commonplace examples where they would not be necessary; and third, through sexism (19). The author points out that it is important to distinguish *sexism within the language* and the *sexism of the editors*, because only the latter, for example if the female version of the word is excluded, is what the dictionary can be called to account for (20). Dictionaries are meant to reflect actual language use, which may be sexist (and exactly this is what the next chapter will venture upon investigating through the scrutiny of the Hungarian national corpus).

In her comparative investigation, Szöllősy found that when it comes to defining descriptions women and girls tend to be associated with appearance, especially beauty, much more than men (65). The dictionary-based results were supported by a quick adjective-collocation check in the national corpus, which supported the findings. Men are often defined through inner values, activities, and physical strength, while women are linked – next to looks – with personal relationships like children or a husband. Children only appear in the entries connected to women (66), while marital fidelity is emphasized for the wife but not for the husband (77). When analyzing example sentences outside of the above listed (gender pair) entries, the author found that men appear significantly more often, especially when it comes to specific characters (like famous people or literary heroes), than women, who are mentioned less and in generic terms (129). Regarding the activities the people in the example sentences are engaged in, Szöllősy noticed that women are illustrated to be overwhelmingly passive. Not only so in professional contexts but even in love relationships, which are supposed to be mutually engaging for the two genders (within a heterosexual context), men are portrayed to be active and interested, while women appear to be ambiguous or passive most often (115). Finally, concerning illustrations the study revealed, for one, that women and girls are largely

outnumbered by man/boy images. For two, it was also uncovered that female figures appear only where it is emphatic that the illustration is a woman/girl, like with certain pieces of clothing or types of activity (166). In other words, man is treated as the default, while woman is marked, which is another manifestation of generic masculine thinking.

Szöllősy's conclusions about Hungarian monolingual dictionaries are valuable for the present research because they mirror the unconscious biases and stereotypes of the editors who are not just individuals but consumers and producers of the language; that is, they are exposed to the ideology-driven discourses present in contemporary Hungarian language use and culture concerning gender. While her study was not focused on unveiling these discourses, the present dissertation will attempt to do just that. In the following chapter I will provide a corpus based analysis of contemporary language use, in hope of presenting a comprehensive picture of how gender is construed in Hungarian language. Then, the subsequent chapters will focus on specific discourses, that of the media (Chapter 4), that of pop culture (Chapter 5), and finally that of outdoor art (Chapter 6), in order to identify the shared traits of femininity and masculinity as they are reproduced in Hungarian language and culture.

## Chapter 3: Gender in Language Use

### 3.1. Using corpora in Critical Discourse Studies

To obtain a grounded idea of general trends in language use, it is useful to explore a larger set of data, as suggested by Baker et al. (2009). Analyzing the national corpus of a language, for example, promises to uncover the very core of how the respective society makes sense of gender. As we have seen in the previous chapter, binary gender is not a natural phenomenon but a social construct (de Beauvoir, 1969; West & Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 2007), which is “established and reproduced in discourse” (Pearce, 2008: 19). Since the texts that we scrutinize when dealing with a national corpus “are a product of [national] discourse, the examination of gendered items in such a large corpus is bound to reveal culturally-prominent patterns of representation” (19).

A good example to this is Pearce’s (2008) study about gender in British English. The analysis aims to uncover gender construction patterns in English through a scrutiny of the British National Corpus (BNC), a 100-million-word general corpus representative of contemporary British English, incorporating as many text types as possible, among them spoken language as well (McEnery et al., 2006: 15). Pearce’s study, focusing on the collocations of the MAN and the WOMAN lemmas, makes valuable insights about gender patterns in the British culture. First of all, his quantitative findings point to a significant imbalance between the occurrences of the two gender lemmas: MAN appearing 94,777 while WOMAN only 60,237, which is over one and a half times less. Such an inequality was not unexpected at all as a number of earlier studies have already exposed men’s dominance in several varieties of English (for instance, in the London–Oslo–Bergen or LOB corpora, in the North-American Brown corpus, or in the Wellington Corpus of Written New Zealand English: 2). Nevertheless, Pearce found an interesting addition to this imbalance: he noticed that the singular form, “man,” constitutes 60% of the MAN lemma (including all “man” and all “men” mentions), while for the WOMAN lemma it was the plural form, “women,” which was in large majority with its 63%. In the British National Corpus, women tend to be mentioned collectively much more than individually, as opposed to men who are talked about in an individual form rather than in a collective one.

After a general overview of the gender lemmas, Pearce turns to collocations, that is, the phenomenon of certain words frequently occurring in close proximity (3). First, he quotes

Romaine's (2000) study of gendered collocations in a 3-million-word sub-corpus of BNC, which reveals that sexism is clearly detectable in English discourse. Adjectives like "blonde," "hysterical," "silly," and "ugly" co-occur with women or girls significantly more than with males, while adjectives like "honest," "intelligent" or "main" are paired with men or boys more frequently than with females (110). Women, therefore, are connected most typically with appearance while men with importance, which is underlined by Moon & Caldas-Coulthard (2010) too. Regarding Pearce's collocation analysis, he examines MAN/WOMAN as subject, MAN/WOMAN as object, and attributive adjectives associated with MAN/WOMAN. The research reveals that men are most frequently associated with power and physical dominance, through adjectives like "fit," "strongest," "well-built," "eminent," or "great," and verbs like "chase," "hunt," or "jump" all in the subject position (7-8). In addition, they appear often as actors within the crime domain, with adjectives like "dangerous," "evil-looking," "guilty," "hand-cuffed," or "condemned" (9-10).

Contrarily, women tend to be associated with the victim position, through adjectives like "vulnerable" or "powerless," and as the objects of verbs like "suffocate," "violate," or "rape" (10). Furthermore, women seem to be objectified in other ways as well: they are more often the objects of categorization regarding, for example, their marital status, their ethnicity, or their religion compared to men, and they are more often associated to being submitted to medical intervention, as the objects of verbs like "sterilize," "impregnate," or "immunize" (11-12). As for personality traits, for one, women are linked with beauty, especially regarding breasts and weight, while men co-occur with physical power and detailed facial descriptions (17); for two, women are more neurotic and chatty according to the corpus, while men are more agreeable and conscientious (14).

Pearce's (2008) study of gender in the British National Corpus demonstrates that the contemporary British national discourse is sexist, assigning people to binary (and non-neutral) gender roles. Men are constructed as dominant, powerful, important, yet deviant. Women, on the other hand, are labeled as subordinated, weak, neurotic, yet attractive (19). Pearce does not try to absolve the language from the pervasive sexism his corpus analysis uncovered, but to refine his results he points to the importance of the sub-corpora. The association between males and deviance, for example, is four times more frequent in news-related texts than in other sub-corpora, and the linkage of neuroticism to females is mainly from literary texts (21). This points to the genre-sensitivity of (the degree of) sexism in discourse.

### 3.2. Gender in Hungarian language use

As no comparable in-depth analysis of gender within the Hungarian national corpus has been done, I have ventured upon conducting a corpus linguistic CDS analysis for the Hungarian language. My primary research question is as follows:

*According to the national corpus, how is gender constructed in the Hungarian discourse?*

To be able to come up with accurate results to this complex question, I have broken down my initial research question into three sub-questions, which are the following:

- 1) How often does binary gender (WOMAN/MAN) appear in the language? Is there a significant difference in the frequency of the respective gender lemmas?
- 2) How is binary gender (WOMAN/MAN) described? What are the main gender-typical attributive adjectives?
- 3) In what contexts does binary gender (WOMAN/MAN) appear? What are the main gender-typical domains?

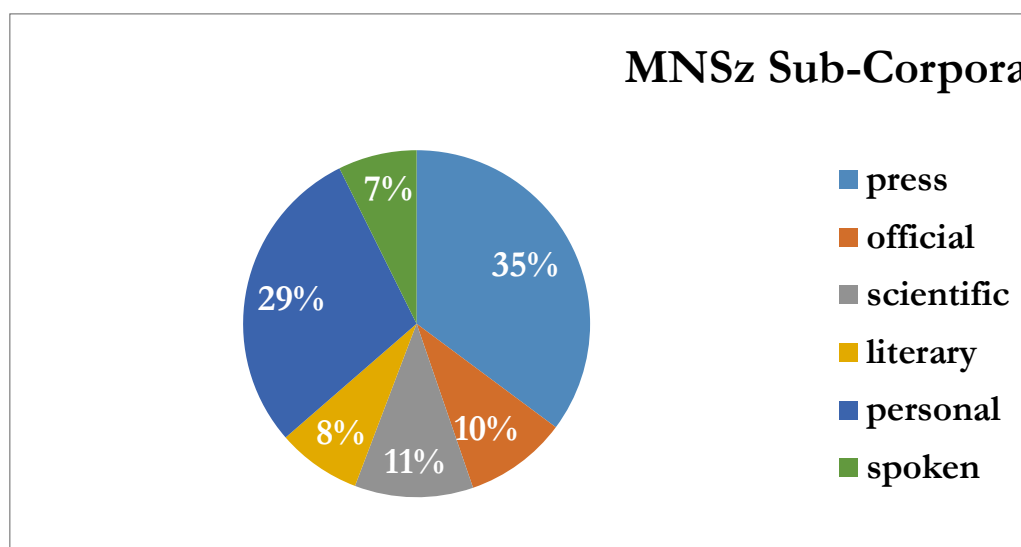
The corpus in which the research was conducted is the Hungarian national corpus called *Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár* (in short, MNSz<sup>5</sup>). Created in 1998, the MNSz is a large, extensive, and annotated corpus, representative of the Hungarian (mostly written) language (Váradi, 2002; Oravecz et al., 2014). The national corpus contains 1.0397 billion words and several sub-corpora, split up according to language varieties and registers. The size of the given sub-corpora is not even, especially regarding language variety. The overwhelming majority of the texts is from Hungary (97.5%), while the rest of the four varieties make up for less than 3% (1.7% is from Upper Hungary, Slovakia; 0.4% is from Transylvania, Romania; and 0.2% from Vojvodina, Serbia and Subcarpathia, Ukraine, each).

As for the register-based sub-corpora, the distribution is more balanced. As shown on Figure 3.1, the largest sub-corpus is *Press*, which comprises of newspaper texts, especially those available online, with 35%; then with 28.9% the *Personal* sub-corpus comes, which includes online forum discussions, for example from index.hu; the third largest sub-corpus with 11% is the *Scientific*, which collects texts from *Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár*

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<sup>5</sup> For the analysis, I used the updated and extended version of the corpus, called MNSz2, v2.0.4., which was published in August 2016. Nevertheless, throughout the chapter I will refer to the corpus with the abbreviation “MNSz” for the sake of simplicity.

(“Hungarian Electronic Library”) operating from 1995; the fourth is the *Official* sub-corpus with 9.5%, consisting of regulations, laws, orders, and parliamentary debates; with 7.8% the *Literary* sub-corpus is the smallest but one, mainly because it was added only in 2005 from the database of *Digitális Irodalmi Akadémia* (“Digital Literary Academy”), which contains modern and contemporary literary texts; and finally, the smallest and newest sub-corpus is the *Spoken* sub-corpus, which are radio discussions transcribed, added just in 2016 and comprising 7.3% of the whole corpus.



(1) Figure 3.1: The register-based sub-corpora of the MNSz corpus

### 3.2.1. Methodology

In his monograph dedicated to exploring how to critically analyze gender through corpora, Paul Baker (2014a) notes that a strictly quantitative analysis of the corpus will not always provide clear explanations for language patterns. In line with CDS, Baker stresses that for an extensive and accurate examination it is best to combine context-sensitive qualitative analyses with the quantitative research which corpus linguistics is most often associated with. In the case of Pearce’s above analysis, the qualitative consideration of the sub-corpora revealed valuable details regarding the interconnections of genre and gender, thus fine-tuning and explicating his quantitative findings. Similarly, the present examination will also apply this duality in its methodology: the quantitative analysis will be supplemented by a contextual qualitative investigation.

As Crawford & Csomay point out, a corpus linguistic study is typically corpus-driven or corpus-based (2016: 9). A corpus-driven analysis is inductive; that is, it examines a text with little or no a priori expectations about the findings and forms its conclusions based on

repeated examinations and interpretations. In a corpus-based research, however, we are searching our text deductively, in order to support or reject an already existing theory. The present research will use the hybrid approach (Biber, 2009), combining knowledge from the gender literature with statistical data extracted from MNSz's texts.

The analysis will concentrate on two lemma-pairs connected to gender. Each will be examined individually and in comparison to its counterpart. The four lemmas are the following: NŐ ("woman") and FÉRFI ("man"); CSAJ ("chick" or "gal") and PASI ("guy"). The first lemma-pair constitute the primary gender words in Hungarian, while the second pair are their informal varieties, which were included in the study for the sake of testing the register- or genre-sensitivity of gender use. The examination of the gender lemmas will have three main steps. The first one is a general quantitative analysis of each of them, in the corpus and the sub-corpora, which will conclude in a comparative examination. The second step will be the analysis of the adjective collocations of each gender lemma, which will combine quantitative and qualitative parts and lead to uncovering general patterns about gender-typical descriptions. Finally, in the third step of the analysis I will scrutinize generic statements related to the gender lemmas, which again involves quantitative and qualitative considerations, with the aim of revealing the typical domains and commonplaces Hungarian discourse assigns to people based on their gender.

For a clear overview of the examination, below is a more detailed structure of the analysis. The three sections, with two sub-sections each, were designed to explore the respective issues raised by the sub-questions listed above.

**1) General analysis of the gender lemmas in the corpus**

**1a) Quantitative analysis of the pair-lemmas in the corpus**

**1b) Quantitative analysis of the pair-lemmas in the sub-corpora**

**2) Analysis of the adjective-collocations of the gender lemmas**

**2a) Qualitative analysis of adjective-collocations in 200 randomly selected example sentences for each lemma**

**2b) Quantitative analysis of specific adjective-collocations based on the results of the preceding analysis**

**3) Analysis of generic statements with the gender lemmas**

**3a)** Quantitative analysis of generic statements with the gender lemmas  
(collocations with *minden* / “every”)

**3b)** Qualitative analysis of 100 randomly selected generic statements  
(collocations with *minden* / “every”) for each lemma

### 3.2.2. Results

#### 3.2.2.1. General analysis of the pair-lemmas in the corpus

We will start the discussion with the results of the quantitative analyses of the pair-lemmas as they appear in the corpus and the sub-corpora. The lemmas will be dealt with separately, then in comparison to their lemma-pair. First, the standard gender-lemmas, NŐ (“woman”) and FÉRFI (“man”), will be addressed, then their informal varieties, CSAJ (“gal”) and PASI (“guy”), will be uncovered.

#### NŐ/FÉRFI

The most basic question of the analysis was to explore how many times the two primary lemmas indicating gender in Hungarian appear in the Hungarian corpus. To make the results easier to see through, Table 3.1 visualizes the primary data, that is, the number of occurrences of FÉRFI and NŐ, separately and combined. In addition to providing the number of tokens within the whole corpus, the table contains the respective data for the sub-corpora as well. Just like in Pearce’s (2008) examination, I expected that for a more accurate picture of actual language use it is relevant to observe and interpret the quantitative results not just for the whole corpus but also for its sub-corpora.<sup>6</sup>

corpus/sub-corpus	FÉRFI (“man”)	NŐ (“woman”)	altogether
Press	197 424	114 620	312 044
Official	2 905	6 389	9 294
Personal	119 708	115 142	234 850
Scientific	44 278	32 264	76 542
Literary	19 405	20 141	39 546
Spoken	29 580	15 141	44 721
<b>whole corpus</b>	<b>463 318</b>	<b>346 321</b>	<b>809 639</b>

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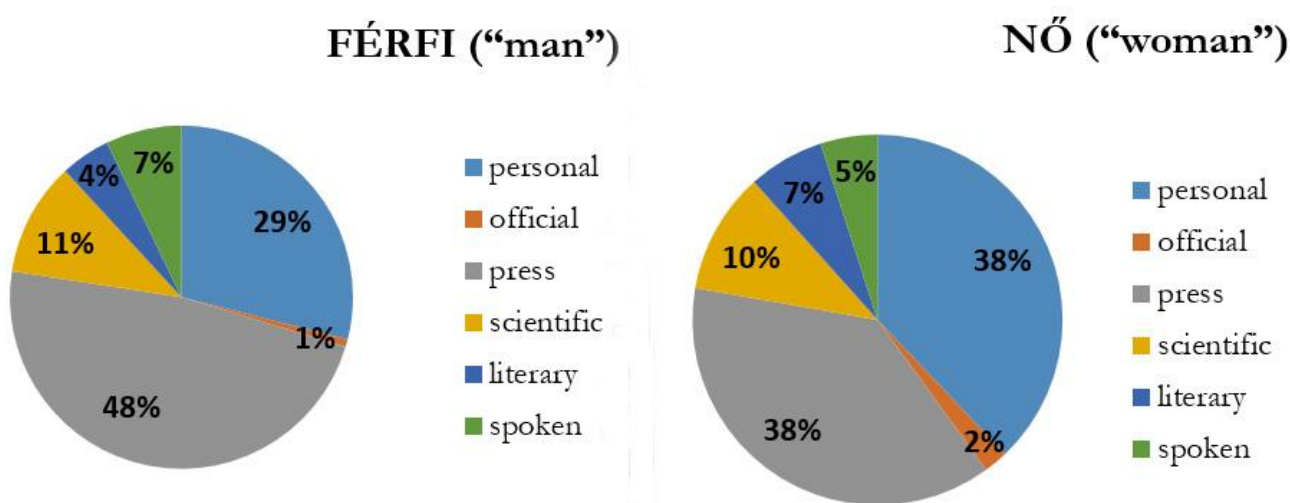
<sup>6</sup> Note that I am dealing with the register-based distribution only, ignoring the potential differences within the language varieties, simply because the data from outside of Hungary is very small, less than 2.5% of the entire corpus.



(1) Table 3.1: Number of tokens of FÉRFI / NŐ in the corpus and in the sub-corpora

Scanning through the table, what immediately strikes the eye is, first, that a large portion of the tokens come from two sub-corpora (the Personal and the Press), and second, that FÉRFI appears significantly more frequently in the Hungarian corpus than NŐ (463,318 vs 346,321). To be precise, the occurrences of FÉRFI are 134% more than those of NŐ, which is comparable to what was found in the British National Corpus about MAN and WOMAN (Pearce, 2008: 2).

To be able to interpret the subtleties of the discursive gender imbalance, we need to scrutinize the rest of the numbers, that is, the distributions and proportions of the two lemmas within the sub-corpora. To facilitate the analysis, I have broken down the data from the table and illustrated them in three charts. Figure 3.2 displays two of the charts, showing the distribution of the occurrences of FÉRFI, then of NŐ, within the different sub-corpora, so we can see in what context men, or women, are most often talked about.



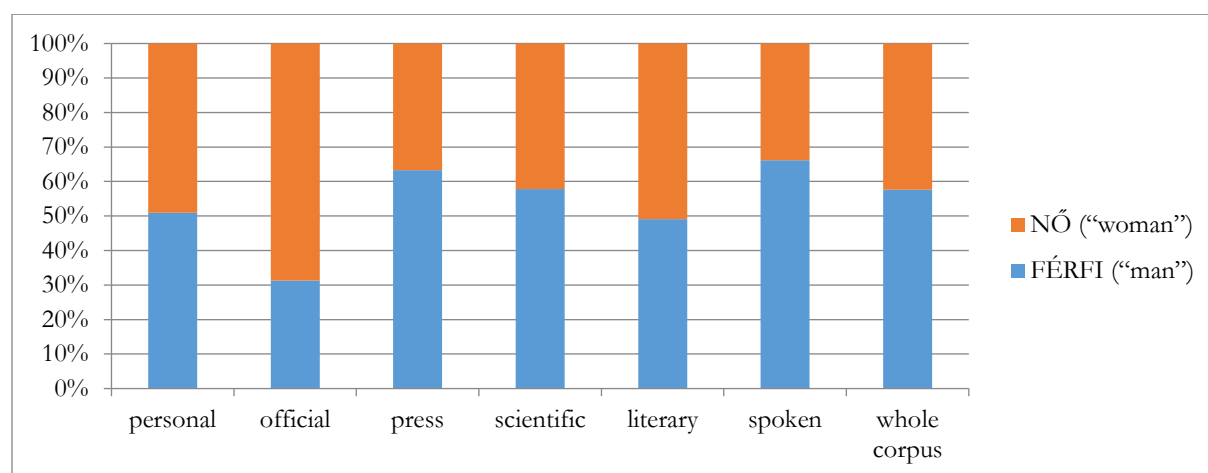
(2) Figure 3.2: Distribution of FÉRFI and NŐ tokens in the sub-corpora

When looking at Table 3.1 earlier, we have already noticed that the largest sum of the occurrences (of both NŐ and FÉRFI) come from the Press and the Personal sub-corpora (blue and grey slices on the charts). This actually is no surprise, as it is in accordance with the general dominance of these sub-corpora which are the two largest within MNSz with 35% and 29%, respectively (see Figure 3.1 at the beginning of the chapter). Nevertheless, if we look at the charts in Figure 3.2, illustrating the occurrences of FÉRFI and NŐ next to each other, we can identify some gender-specific peculiarities. As for the first chart, it clearly shows that

FÉRFI is significantly overrepresented in the Press sub-corpus; 48% of all occurrences come from here, which is a lot more than the distribution of the sub-corpus itself. On the other hand, the Official and the Literary sub-corpora contain much less mentions of men than their respective distributions (1% instead of 10%, and 4% instead of 8%). According to the analysis of the Hungarian corpus, then, men are most often talked about in the context of news, in the press, than in any other domain.

In the case of the NŐ lemma, the Press segment is also a large one but it is proportionate with the whole corpus. What stands out, however, is the lemma's frequency in Personal texts (forum commentaries); of the whole corpus such texts make up 29%, while for NŐ they are 38%. Similarly to FÉRFI, the mentions for NŐ in the Official sub-corpus are lower than average (2% vs 10%), which seems to be a register-specific phenomenon. Summing up the findings of the NŐ lemma in the Hungarian corpus, it appears that women are the objects of discussion in forums emphatically often, both compared to men and to the size of the sub-corpus.

After scrutinizing the register-based distribution of the occurrences of each lemma individually, now it is time for a comparison. We will contrast the frequency of the two lemmas within the registers and the whole corpus in a column chart. Figure 3.3, working with the data from Table 3.1, displays proportions, not actual numbers, in order to demonstrate how NŐ and FÉRFI relate to each other regarding frequency.



(3) Figure 3.3: Proportion of tokens of FÉRFI and NŐ in the corpus and the sub-corpora

Looking at Figure 3.3, it is easy to spot that FÉRFI outnumbers NŐ in most of the sub-corpora, especially in Press and Spoken (which, being radio transcripts, is practically press). Men tend to appear in the news significantly more frequently than women (to be precise, men

come up in Press 172% and in Spoken 195% more frequently than women). The traditional claim that the public domain is governed by men (de Beauvoir, 1969: 71) is confirmed once again by the current corpus linguistic results.

In one sub-corpus, however, NŐ seems to prevail: women appear in Official texts much more (that is, 220% more) than men. This specific sub-corpus contains legal texts, namely, regulations, orders, and cases (which explains why we saw previously that both FÉRFI and NŐ had generally less occurrences). The fact that women are mentioned significantly more than men in this context confirms another often cited notion, namely, that (Hungarian) society views women as the “less privileged” and more in need of legal protection and aid. Pearce explained the prevalence of women in social scientific discourse in a similar manner: namely, that thanks to women’s studies and feminism women, due to their underprivileged status, are talked about more often (2000: 21).

In summary, FÉRFI appears 134% more times than NŐ in the whole corpus, which comes as no surprise considering what we learned in the previous chapter about the gender situation in the Hungarian language. As Szöllősy (2012) revealed, quoting several studies about Hungarian textbooks and adding her own findings about Hungarian dictionaries, the dominance of men is pervasive in Hungarian discourse. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be a Hungarian-specific trend but a rather general situation. The conclusions of corpus analyses from other countries like the UK, Pakistan or Malaysia (Baker, 2014a; Azher, et al., 2014; Bakar, 2014; respectively) similarly describe a clear male prevalence in national discourses. The register-sensitive findings are more interesting but not at all unexpected: FÉRFI’s dominance in the Press (thus, men’s public role) versus NŐ’s dominance in the Private (thus, women’s private role) is the traditional division of spheres, which might already be outdated in (some levels of) society, but not so much in language use.

## **CSAJ/PASI**

Next to the analyses of the two main gender-lemmas, the standard NŐ (“woman”) and FÉRFI (“man”), we will also examine their informal varieties, CSAJ (“gal”) and PASI (“guy”).

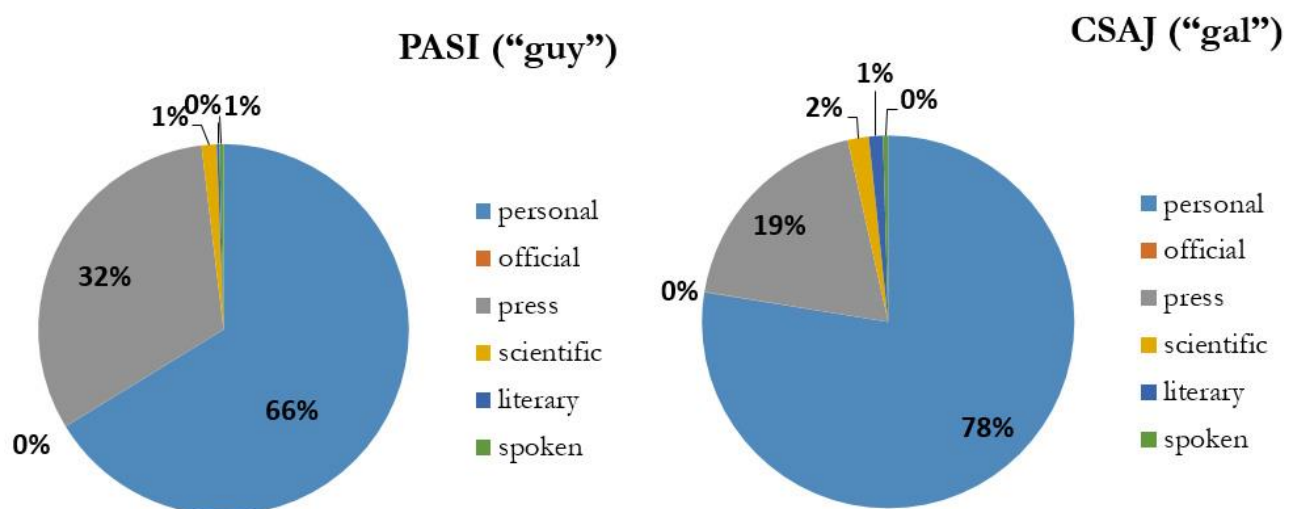
While expecting a more limited scope and amount of occurrences, I suspected this lemma-pair can still add to the exploration of how gender is constructed by language use in Hungarian. Like before, I am first providing a table that sums up all the quantitative results, then, for a more transparent display, the data are broken down into several explanatory figures.

corpus/sub-corpus	PASI (“guy”)	CSAJ (“gal”)	altogether
personal	14 026	19 832	33 858
official	1	12	13
press	6 736	4 834	11 570
scientific	281	469	750
literary	50	311	361
spoken	76	115	191
<b>whole corpus</b>	<b>21 922</b>	<b>26 728</b>	<b>48 650</b>

(2) Table 3.2: Number of tokens of PASI and CSAJ in the corpus and the sub-corpora

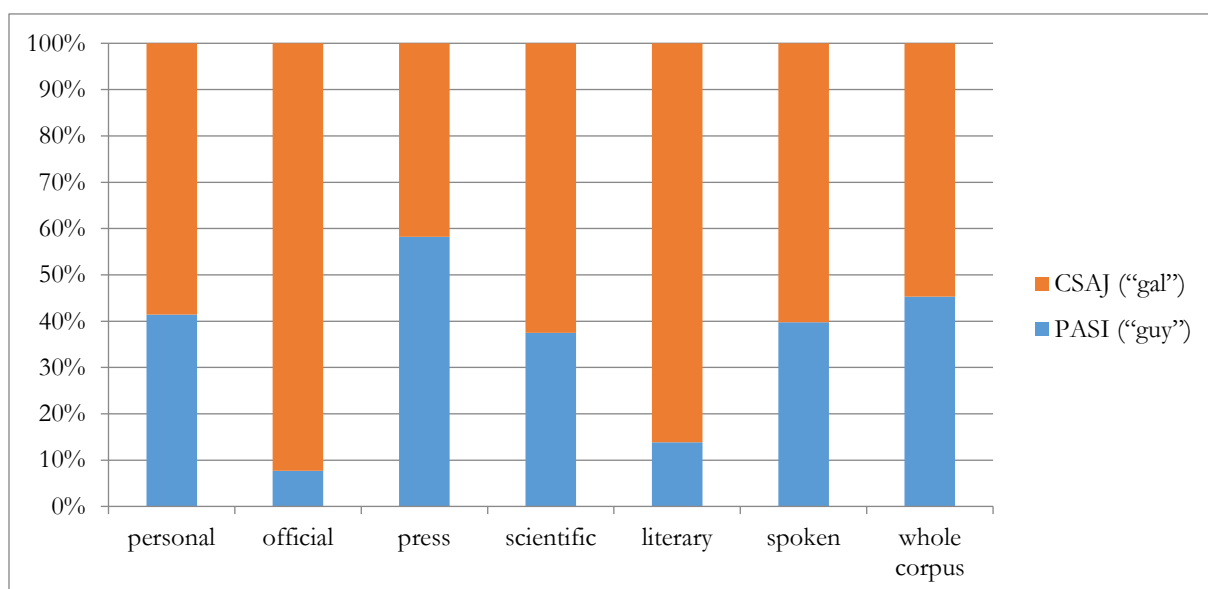
The most obvious piece of information we are likely to spot in Table 3.2 is that almost all of the occurrences of these two lemmas come from two sub-corpora: the Personal and the Press (93% combined). This is not at all surprising, as we have been well aware that PASI and CSAJ belong to informal registers. The other thing that might strike us, remembering the extensive male dominance we noticed with lemmas FÉRFI and NŐ, is that their informal counterparts seem to be less so; in fact, the female lemma appears more frequently than the male one (26,728 vs 21,922).

To better understand these numbers, we need to turn to the upcoming figures which are provided to make the interpretation of the data easier. On Figure 3.4, the first chart displays the sub-corpus distribution for PASI tokens, while the second does the same for CSAJ. Later on, the proportions for PASI and CSAJ will also be illustrated on a chart (Fig. 3.5).



(4) Figure 3.4: Distribution of PASI and CSAJ tokens in the sub-corpora

The first chart on Figure 3.4 conspicuously demonstrates what we have already suspected: the large majority of the occurrences of the informal PASI is from Personal texts (66%), followed by Press (32%). The other four sub-corpora contain insignificant mentions (adding up to about 2%). As for CSAJ tokens, they come from the same two sub-corpora, Personal and Press, while all the rest are minimal, just like with PASI. Nevertheless, there is a striking difference between the distributions of the two main sub-corpora. While with PASI the Personal sub-corpus provided two-thirds of the mentions, in the case of CSAJ it is as high as four-fifths of all. Even in the case of NÓ, the Personal sub-corpus appeared to be more dominant than with its male counterpart, FÉRFI, and Press vice versa (see Fig. 3.2), but in the case of the informal varieties, this contrast is even more conspicuous. Women are talked about in personal commentaries much more than men, while men appear in the news much more than women.



(5) Figure 3.5: Proportion of tokens of PASI and CSAJ in the corpus and the sub-corpora

Now let us see a clearer comparison. Keeping in mind that Figure 3.5 only illustrates proportions, not actual numbers (which are notably low for CSAJ/PASI in four sub-corpora), it is interesting to see that, apart from Press, in each sub-corpus CSAJ appears more than PASI. This finding goes against our expectations based on what we saw about NÓ and FÉRFI, where the male was significantly more prevalent. Nevertheless, when it comes to informal contexts and language use, women are more frequently the objects of discussion, whereas more standard contexts and language uses favor men.

To sum up the quantitative findings regarding gender in the corpus of the Hungarian language based on the scrutiny of two pair-lemmas (standard variety NŐ-FÉRFI and informal variety CSAJ-PASI), these are the main conclusions:

- 1) FÉRFI (“man”) is the most frequently occurring lemma of all four, 134% more frequent than runner-up NŐ (“woman”), dominating all sub-corpora except for the Official.
- 2) CSAJ (“gal”) outnumbers PASI (“guy”) in most sub-corpora except for Press.
- 3) Generally, FÉRFI+PASI (males) appear significantly more often in Press than NŐ+CSAJ (female).
- 4) In contrast, NŐ+CSAJ (females) are the objects of discussion significantly more in the Personal and the Official domains than FÉRFI+PASI (males).

### **3.2.2.2. Analysis of adjective-collocations of the pair-lemmas**

After the primary, quantitative, analysis of the two main lemma pairs expressing gender in Hungarian, I have moved on to the qualitative explorations in accordance with CDS. As a start, I have conducted a corpus-driven analysis of the adjective collocations of the lemmas, utilizing 200 randomly selected example sentences for each lemma. I have categorized each adjective into groups, following van Leeuwen’s (2008) *Social Actor Analytical Framework*, which helps qualitatively evaluate the gender construal of the Hungarian national corpus. After revealing what types of adjectives collocate with the genders, I refined the results with the comparative, corpus-based search of specific, gender-typical attributes based on the initial categorization.

In van Leeuwen’s framework, which serves to examine how people are defined as social actors within an interaction, there are two main categories. One of the categories is *Identification* which is when “people are defined not in terms of what they do but in terms of what they, more or less permanently or unavoidably, are” (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42). In short, when the adjectives classify a person as belonging to an ethnicity, an age group, a certain sexual orientation, or a religion (such as “Hungarian,” “middle aged,” “lesbian,” or “Muslim”), they will go into the Identification group. Physical identification (such as “beautiful”) and relational identification (such as “married”) also belong here. Furthermore, as mentioned by Moon & Caldas-Coulthard (2010), personal identification, including emotional,

moral, or intellectual qualities (such as “conceited,” “honest,” or “smart”), is another sub-category here.

The other group is called *Functionalization*, which is when “people are defined in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role” (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42). In other words, it is the Functionalization category that will contain words such as “journalist” or “smoking,” which connect an occupation or an activity to people when describing them. Next to occupation and activity, I added “state” as another sub-category of Functionalization, deeming it closely related to “activity.” Rather than describing a permanent quality like ethnicity or physical identification, state adjectives (such as “drunk” or “captured”) link something emphatically temporary to the person; hence, it belongs more to Functionalization rather than to Identification which is for (more) permanent qualities. The difference between activity adjectives and state adjectives is that the latter denotes an activity in which the subject is passive or out of control.

The above methodology was applied for gender in Bakar (2014) which analyzed online personal advertisements on a Malaysian dating site. The goal of the paper was to uncover how femininity and masculinity are discursively performed by single Malaysian adults trying to promote themselves as desirable women or men. Bakar scrutinized a corpus of 65,659 words, focusing on nouns and adjectives in the “I” sentences of these men and women, in order to expose the essential components of Malaysian gendered identity. Her main findings include a clear distinction between how women and men describe themselves; furthermore, she also identifies two sub-categories within each group. According to her examination, Malaysian women typically fit either into “the compassionate woman” sub-category or into “the empowered woman” sub-category. The previous group emphasizes personal or relational identification qualities like “caring” or “people-centered,” while the latter underlines functionalization phrases such as “what they like doing,” along with qualities like “assertive” or “self-reliant.” As for men, the two sub-categories are “the athletic man” and “the sensitive, new-age man.” The first, more traditional category pushes functionalization-focused self-definitions, especially from the domain of sports and hobbies (which are twice as frequent for men as for women), along with physical qualities like “strong”; while the latter group puts care and domesticity, thus, identification-type of self-definitions, on the top of its list.

I have applied the above methodology for the MNSz corpus to see if the adjectives that collocate with the key lemmas of gender in Hungarian, NŐ and FÉRFI for one, and CSAJ

and PASI for two, show any identifiable patterns in the random samples of 200 each. As a follow-up, I checked my results quantitatively as well.

## NŐ/FÉRFI

We will start the analysis by taking a look at the adjective collocations of NŐ and FÉRFI. In the 200-200 random samples, each of the lemmas appeared with an adjective approximately 70 times. Number-wise there is no gender-specific difference in the corpus as far as the adjective collocations are concerned. Nevertheless, an in-depth, qualitative analysis will uncover significant differences, both in the type and the quality of the adjectives the two genders are assigned to. First, we will look at what *type* of adjectives the gender lemmas collocate with, based on a categorization following van Leeuwen's Social Actor Analytical Framework. Table 3.3 displays the results below.

... (adjective) + NŐ ("woman")						
functionalization			identification			
state	activity	job	classification ethnicity, age, etc.	physical identification	personal identification	relational identification
munkaerő piacon nem aktív, eltűntként keresett, gyanúsítható	vendégeskedő, öngyilkosságot elkövető, közösülő, szoptató, névtelenségben maradó	harcos, tévés, újságíró, polgármester, házvezető	lítván osztrák fehér magyar muzulmán roma olasz afrikai iráni mezőtúri békésszentandrási brit kalendzsin cseh kolumbiai budapesti bajai tompai török európai	átlagos alkatú, csúnyább, elesettebb, piperés, puccos, bomba, legszexisebb, rasztahajú, gyönyörű, bomba jó, vékony	tökéletes, egészséges, vidám, bölcс, valódi, életteli, bátor, energikus, Nobel-díjas, rossz, hálás, anyagias, tisztelt	egyedüláll ó



			64 éves 40 éves középkorú idősebb fiatal 56 éves 37 éves 41 éves 58 éves 47 éves 45 év körüli			
3	5	5	35 <sup>7</sup>	11	13	1
<b>13</b>			<b>60</b>			

(3) Table 3.3: Adjective collocations of NŐ ("woman")

What strikes the eye immediately is that almost half of all adjectives belong to one group, namely to classification. In fact, this comes as no surprise because nationality, ethnicity, and age are the primary ways to identify a person in the news, which is the most extensive sub-corpus in MNSz. After classification, the second and third most frequent types of adjectives for women are personal and physical descriptions, which also fall within the identification group. Quantitatively speaking, there is a remarkable imbalance between identification definitions versus functionalization descriptions in the adjective collocations for NŐ (60 vs 13, respectively). Why this is relevant is because describing someone through identification, rather than through functionalization, means not only that we stick permanent, seemingly essential and unchangeable, labels to them, but many times it is also that we assign a value judgement to the person, as physical-personal attributive adjectives tend to be non-neutral.

When it comes to physical definitions, women are described through their physique, their face, and generally how attractive or sexy they are for the speaker. Most of the adjectives associate a positive or a negative evaluation or judgement to the denoted ("beautiful," "very sexy," "uglier"). As for the personal identification adjectives, almost all of them label the described person with a positive or a negative social value ("perfect," "wise," "bad").

<sup>7</sup> Some of the summative numbers, like this one, do not match the amount of listed items in the given column, which is because there are repetitions in the example sentences. Each adjective is listed once in the table but counted in the total by the number of actual occurrences.

Regarding functionalization, that is, less permanent and less evaluative, definitions, NŐ is defined by some occupation 5 times, some activity 5 times, and some state 3 times. It is not only that this number is very low as compared to the previous category, but note also that the above listed occupation names are very instances of built-in sexism in the Hungarian language. While we can say “újságíró”<sup>8</sup> (journalist woman) for a woman, we would not say “újságíróférfi” (journalist man) for a man. The unmarked form of “újságíró” (journalist) is the natural way to refer to a male journalist, or to any journalist, male or female, where gender is not indicated. In Hungarian, unmarked, “natural” word forms are used either as a default for male or collectively for male and female. Note Szöllősy’s (2012) findings about dictionary illustrations which also treat the male body or character as the default and neutral form (166).

... (adjective) + FÉRFI (“man”)						
functionalization			identification			
state	activity	job	classification ethnicity, age, etc.	physical identification	personal identification	relational identification
elfogott, útlevéllel rendelkező, tétlenségre kárhoztatott, halott, ismeretlen, munkaképes, eltűnt, ittas állapotban levő, ittas, elrabolt, illuminált, póru jár	motoron közlekedő, ágyban dohányzó, megölésre vállalkozó, ittasan kocsikázó, símaszkot viselő, álarcos	grafikusként dolgozó, pénzszállítással megbízott	tizacsegei magyar arab heidenheimi székely fekete amerikai tompai nagykörösi szegedi fiatal idős felnőtt öregebb 43 éves 30 éves 53 éves 58 éves 35 éves középkorú	kopott, rövid hajú, szép tartású, szőke, vékony, szőrös, rózsaszín, kopasz, szőkés hajú, közepes testalkatú	öntelt, gazdag, 0-ás vércsoportú, erős, aranyos	egyedülálló

<sup>8</sup> In the corpus, “újságíró nő” is written in two words and is annotated as a N+Adj phrase. The grammatically correct form would be a one-word N phrase. In order to avoid an arbitrary modification of the samples, I decided to work with all examples of my random sample.

			52 esztendő 78 éves 101 éves			
15	6	2	31	10	5	1
<b>23</b>			<b>47</b>			

(4) Table 3.4: Adjective collocations of FÉRFI (“man”)

Table 3.4 summarizes the adjective collocations for FÉRFI. As we can see, identification descriptions outnumber functionalization definitions here as well (47 vs 23). The gap, however, is not as wide as with NŐ: for men the ratio is 2:1, while for women it is 3:1. This means less of evaluative and permanent descriptions and more of factual and temporary qualifications in the adjective collocations of FÉRFI.

The most numerous sub-group is still classification (mostly ethnicity and age), as we have expected due to the dominance of Press texts within the corpus. Then, the second largest sub-group, contrary to NŐ, is state adjectives, that is, collocations that define men through temporary states (“drunk”) or events in which they passively partake (“captured”). Most of the adjectives in the functionalization group, including state, activity, and occupation, appear to have come from the news, meaning the Press or the Spoken sub-corpus, which might explain their significantly higher occurrence in FÉRFI-collocations (as Figure 3.4 pointed out, FÉRFI appears much more frequently in these sub-corpora than NŐ). In fact, Pearce’s (2008) analysis also revealed that words of deviance and crime collocate often with men, but mostly within the context of news, not so much outside of it (21).

Just like with NŐ, physical descriptions are significant here too; nevertheless, the type of adjectives is somewhat different. While women almost always seem to be either positively or negatively evaluated by the adjectives (“beautiful,” “very sexy,” “uglier”), men can bear neutral definitions as well (“medium physique,” “short-haired,” “blondish”). It appears men are described for the purpose of identification, while women more for evaluation. This becomes even more transparent when we notice the difference in personal descriptions. For NŐ this sub-group was the second most numerous, with examples like “perfect,” “wise,” or “bad,” while for FÉRFI it is one of the least typical kind of collocations. Personal qualities are rarely objective (take examples like “conceited,” “strong,” or “kind” from men’s list); thus, they are useless for the purposes of mere identification, like in the news, which might account for their low number.

Based on the random sample of 200-200 example sentences, one can identify gender-specific patterns regarding the adjective types that co-occur with the lemmas. While identification collocations are more frequent for both lemmas than functionalization definitions, in the case of NŐ the discrepancy is huge. Women are rarely defined through their activities, in a relatively objective and non-judgmental way; instead, they are perceived to have permanent personal-physical qualities, which are almost always evaluated by the speaker. Men, on the contrary, receive less personal-physical assessment and more objective definitions, mostly about what they are engaged in or what their basic physical appearance is. The default male point-of-view in the discourse is clearly traceable in these examples too.

The categorization of the adjectives served to see what *kind* of descriptions women and men are assigned to, not what *specific adjectives* they most likely collocate with. A 200 random sample can be representative of tendencies but not specificities. Based on the patterns the (corpus-driven) analysis exposed, I conducted a corpus-based, follow-up examination as well, now for specific adjective collocations. I selected some of the adjectives that the above analysis connected to one of the genders as very typical and I ran a quantitative analysis with the sole purpose of comparing the given collocation for the gender-lemmas. Based on the findings, I added a couple of further words to check. Eventually, I ran a search on adjectives of physical identification such as “ugly,” “beautiful” or “fat”; adjectives of personal identification such as “smart,” “stupid” or “good”; adjectives of classification such as “Hungarian”; and adjectives of state and activity such as “drunk” or “sleeping.” The results are presented in Table 3.5 and visualized in two further comparative figures (Fig. 3.6-7).

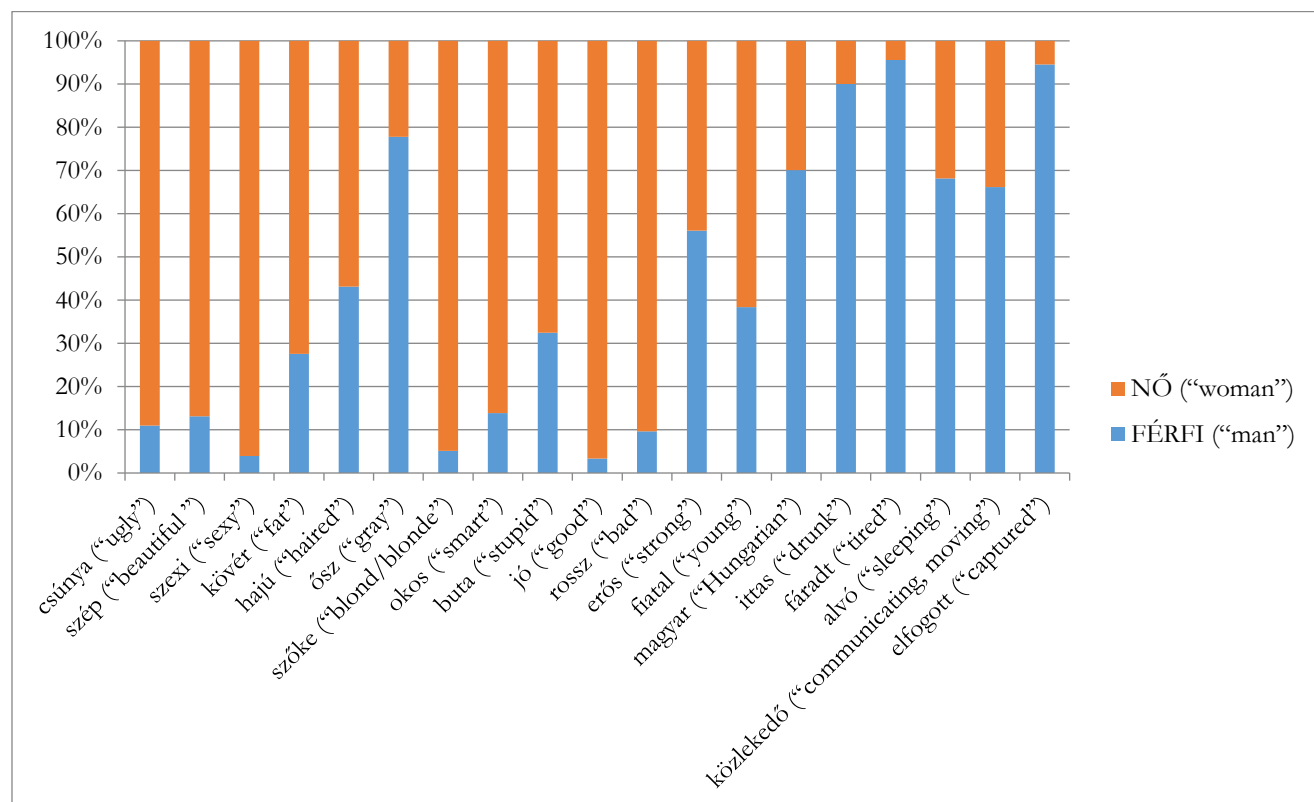
<b>collocation</b>	<b>FÉRFI (“man”)</b>	<b>NŐ (“woman”)</b>
csúnya (“ugly”)	20	162
szép (“beautiful”)	167	1 105
szexi (“sexy”)	7	172
kövér (“fat”)	121	318
hajú (“haired”)	253	334
ősz (“gray”)	112	32
szőke (“blond/blonde” <sup>9</sup> )	117	2 172
okos (“smart”)	71	442

<sup>9</sup> Hungarian does not distinguish women’s fair hair color (“blonde”) and men’s fair hair color (“blond”), but uses the same word form (“szőke”).

buta (“stupid”)	36	75
jó (“good”)	54	1 567
rossz (“bad”)	30	281
erős (“strong”)	286	224
fiatal (“young”)	3 695	5 938
magyar (“Hungarian”)	6 706	2 860
ittas (“drunk”)	548	61
fáradt (“tired”)	65	3
alvó (“sleeping”)	75	35
közlekedő (“moving”)	133	68
elfogott (“captured”)	382	22

(5) Table 3.5: Summary of adjective collocations of FÉRFI and NŐ

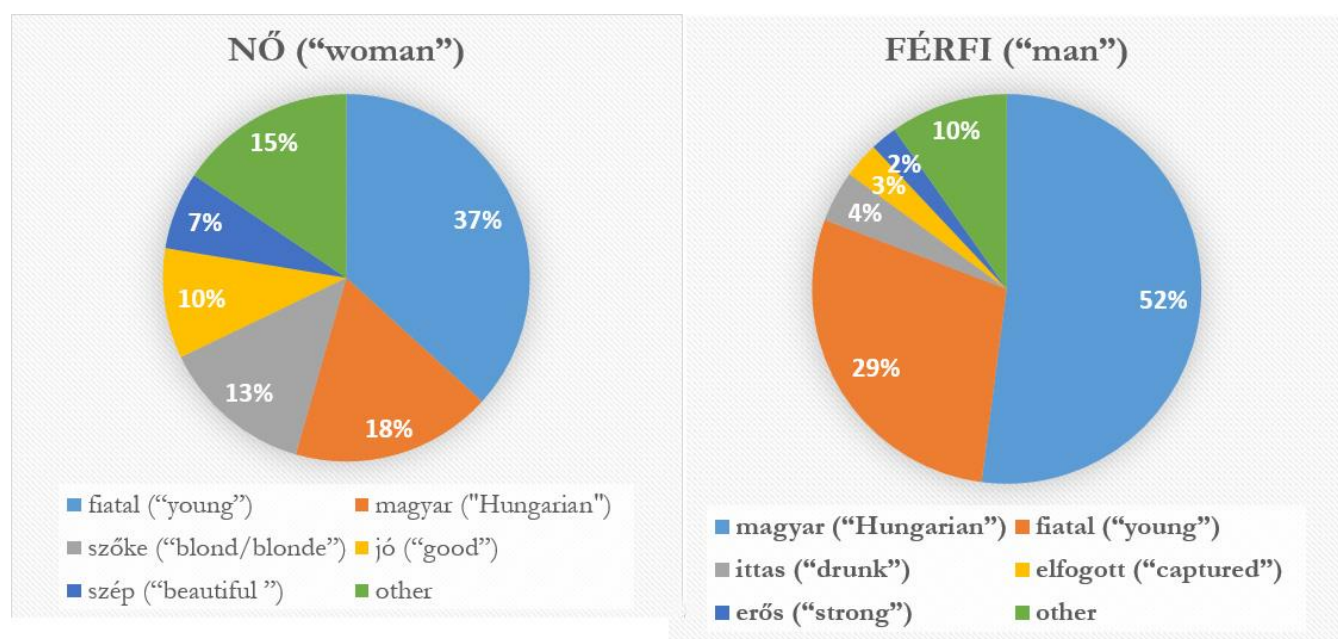
Table 3.5 shows the number of occurrences of the selected adjectives with NŐ and FÉRFI. As we can see, some of the adjectives appear very frequently with the gender-lemmas (like “Hungarian” or “young”), while others are paired in high frequency with only one of them (like “beautiful,” “blond[e]” or “drunk”). To process the numbers more easily, I have provided a column chart which illustrates the comparison of each of the adjectives.



(6) Figure 3.6: Distribution of adjective collocations of NŐ and FÉRFI

As Figure 3.6 shows, most of the adjectives associate more strongly with one of the gender-lemmas. Adjectives denoting physical appearance, such as “ugly,” “beautiful,” “sexy,” or “blonde,” just to name the ones with the most striking imbalance, are linked significantly more frequently to NŐ than to FÉRFI, similarly to Kegyesné’s (2004) earlier findings. The adjective “blonde” must be emphasized here, since as opposed to the rest of the adjectives this one is not color-blind: the intersectional reading of the term clearly uncovers that the ideal Hungarian woman is white, not Roma.

Out of all adjectives of physical identification, only “gray(-haired)” is linked more to men than to women. As for adjectives of personal identification, such as “good” and “bad,” or “smart” and “stupid,” they are also connected a lot more to women. Interestingly, women are so much more prone to getting evaluative labels that even “strong,” a quality which is viewed as typically masculine, gets a very high score for NŐ, almost equal with that of FÉRFI (224 vs 266). While women get more subjective, personal-physical labels, men are more often associated with objective descriptions such as states or activities (like “drunk,” “tired,” “sleeping,” or “captured”).



(7) Figure 3.7: The main adjective collocations of NŐ and FÉRFI

The two pie charts in Figure 3.7 are designed to illustrate which adjectives collocate most with NŐ and which attributes co-occur most with FÉRFI, according to the research. As for women, “young” is by far the most frequent attribute, followed by “Hungarian” (whose high number comes as no surprise, given the dominance of news-related texts), then adjectives of physical-personal description come, such as “blonde,” “good,” and “beautiful.” Regarding

men, “Hungarian” is the leading attribute with 52%, followed by “young.” The high number of adjectives like “drunk” and “captured” uncover, along with the dominance of the nationality marker, that FÉRFI tends to appear in the news most often (and very frequently within the deviance domain). There is only one adjective on the top 5 list which is a personal-physical attribute, namely, “strong.” Let us remind ourselves, though, that women are assigned to this adjective almost as frequently as men (see Table 3.5).

To sum up the results of the collocation analysis of FÉRFI and NŐ in 200 random samples each, it can be concluded that Hungarian discourse contributes to the dichotomic view of gender through the adjectives it assigns to people. The attributes linked to the two genders show distinct tendencies: women are more typically described through their physique and personality, as seen by the speaker, and are labeled with more permanent and non-neutral features, while men receive more of the objective and temporary attributes, such as states and activities.

## CSAJ/PASI

The informal lemma-pair of gender was subjected to the same collocation analysis. 200 randomly selected concordance lines were examined in search of adjectives describing CSAJ, the female counterpart, then another round of 200 sample sentences were checked for PASI, the male lemma. After identifying the adjective collocations, I entered them into a table which used the previously explained categorization based on van Leeuwen’s (2008) framework, which led to a follow-up check of certain, seemingly gender-typical, adjectives, just like before.

Quantitatively speaking, there was no significant difference between the two lemmas (or generally, the two lemma-pairs for that matter), because in the context of the 200-200 randomly selected concordance lines both CSAJ and PASI appeared approximately 80 times with an adjective (with the previous lemma-pair it was approximately 70). Nevertheless, the qualitative analysis will point to valuable differences both cross-gender and cross-genre. First, I will discuss the findings regarding the adjective types collocating with CSAJ.

... (adjective) + CSAJ (“gal”)						
functionalization			identification			
state	activity	job	classification ethnicity, age, etc.	physical id.	personal id.	relational id.

	vetkőző, kajakos	bíró, pénzbeszedő, főszereplő, recis, recepció	20 éves, 14 éves, 18 éves, fiatal, külföldi, arab, ghánai, dél-amerikai, színesbőrű, leszbikus	szőke, csicsás, borotvált, szexi, szexis, dögös, fekete hajú, csini, csinos, bajszos, bikinis, helyes, szeplős fejű	jó, legjobb, jó fej, kellemes, remek, intelligens, művelt, furcsa underground, pompás, kőkemény, legmeredekebb, tökös, kemény, beleváló bevallalós, legdögösebb, édi-bédi, normális, menő, okos, control freak, számítógép típusú, excel típusú, pénzes, gazdag, szegény ('sajnál')	egykori, új, szingli
0	2	5	10	25	33	5
7			73			

(6) Table 3.6: Adjective collocations of CSAJ ("gal")

Similarly to what we found regarding the standard female lemma, the categories of the adjectives co-occurring with CSAJ are also very uneven. Identification adjectives highly outnumber functionalization adjectives (73 to 7), which is a significantly wider gap than in the case of NŐ. Another difference from the standard lemma is that classification (such as "Arab," "20-year-old," or "lesbian") appears to be less dominant. For NŐ it was the biggest sub-category, while here it is just the third. The difference in register, or more in the context,



offers an easy explanation: categorization-type adjectives typically appear in news-related texts whose reporting style is more formal.

A further consequence of the change in contexts is that personal, physical, and relational identification adjectives become more prevalent with CSAJ; in fact, they constitute 3/4 of all adjectives. Among the personal attributes, the largest group, we can find more usual adjectives like “good,” “intelligent,” “nice,” or “cool,” but also more imaginative or metaphoric words like “excel-typed” or “computer-like.” As for physical attributes, the most frequent adjective is “sexy” (*szexi* or *szexis*) and “pretty” (*csinos* or *csini*), which are repeated several times in the example sentences. It is fair to say that relational attributes (such as “ex” or “single”) are not very frequent compared to these two sub-groups, but they are worth mentioning because their occurrences with CSAJ are 3 times higher than NŐ’s respective collocations.

Functionalization adjectives, that is, less permanent, less evaluative, and less subjective definitions are practically missing. There are no state adjectives and only two activity-related ones.

... (adjective) + PASI (“guy”)						
functionalization			identification			
state	activity	job	classification ethnicity, age, etc.	physical id.	personal id.	relational id.
halálra ítélt, kimerült	feleségét szerető és tisztelő, felvonuló		30-as, negyvenes, belga, angol, néger	félmeztelen, meztelen, full izmos, sportos, helyes,	rendes, jó, jobb, legjobb, angyalalkú, gazdag, szegény (anyagilag), hülye, szeretetreméltó, gyerekes, önző, tökéletes, ideális, gyáva, vad, udvarias,	akkori, új, vadiúj, újjonc, volt, korábbi, leendő, facér, nős, aktuális, kirakott, kiszemelt, frissen megismert

					macsó, romantikus, “kemény külső érző szívet takar” típusú, extrém idomú lányokra gerjedő	
2	2	0	6	6	24	38
4			74			

(7) Table 3.7: Adjective collocations of PASI (“guy”)

After examining the adjective collocations of CSAJ, let us turn to see what Table 3.7 has to say about PASI. Compared to FÉRFI, the number of functionalization collocations shrink tremendously. As a consequence, identification considerably surmounts functionalization (74 to 4); in fact, the gap is even a bit wider than what we saw regarding CSAJ. Unlike what we noticed in the case of FÉRFI, the most numerous sub-group is not classification, but relational identification (such as “single,” “new,” or “ex”). The prevalence is significant; as a matter of fact, these attributes constitute more than half of all adjectives of PASI, while for the standard male lemma it was practically non-existent. It seems PASI is used primarily in the context of dating. Not surprisingly, personal descriptions are significant too. As the second largest group, personal attributes are rich in synonyms describing an “attractive guy,” just to list a couple of examples: “perfect,” “nice,” “adorable,” “ideal,” or “best.” Interestingly, physical identification has somewhat less instances than with FÉRFI, and a lot less than with CSAJ, though. Apart from the relational collocations, CSAJ attracts more identification definitions (especially physical and personal) than PASI.

The most frequently occurring adjectives of the Hungarian guy in the 200 random sentences were these four: *facér* (“single”), *nős* (“married”), *új* (“new”), and *gazdag* (“rich”). Contrarily, for the Hungarian gal the most repeated adjectives were *csini* (“pretty”), *jó* (“good”), *szőke* (“blond[e]”), and *új* (“new”). On the one hand, the results of the above analysis confirmed that even in the informal contexts Hungarian discourse reinforces the concept of binary gender. On the other hand, it is easy to spot the register-specific implications of the gender-lemmas, as the examination clearly unveiled that the CSAJ-PASI

lemma-pair is used mostly in a romantic/dating context (in the corpus), which intensifies the differences.

Just like in the case of the standard gender lemma-pair, I conducted a secondary quantitative analysis to compare the frequency of specific adjectives co-occurring with PASI and/or CSAJ. I checked adjectives of physical identification such as “beautiful,” “pretty” or “blond(e)”; adjectives of personal identification such as “cool,” “bad” or “good”; adjectives of relational identification such as “married” or “ex.” Even if classification did not appear to be relevant based on the previous categorization, I still ran a search on “Hungarian” and “young” because with the standard gender lemmas they were among the primary adjective collocations. Now let us see what differences there may be in the adjective collocation patterns of this lemma-pair.

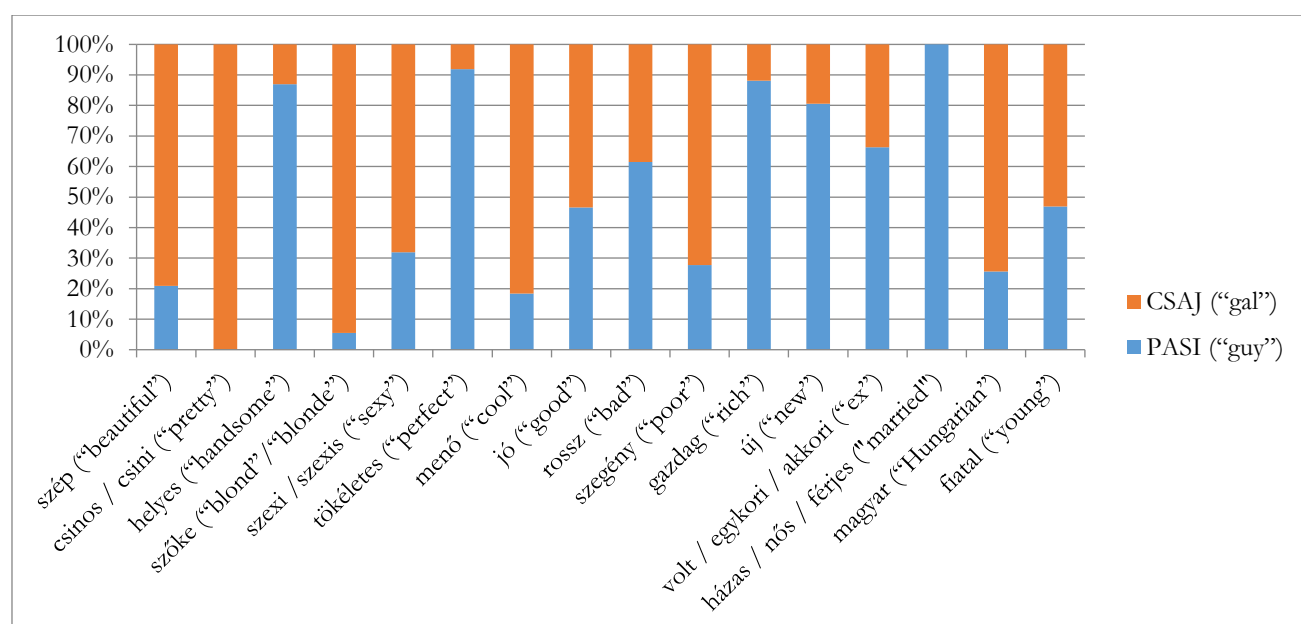
<b>collocation</b>	<b>PASI (“guy”)</b>	<b>CSAJ (“gal”)</b>
szép (“beautiful”)	9	34
csinos / csini (“pretty”)	0 / 0	25 / 449
helyes (“handsome”)	87	13
szőke (“blond”/“blonde”)	10	173
szexi /szexis (“sexy”)	35 / 3	55 / 26
tökéletes (“perfect”)	34	3
menő (“cool”)	9	40
jó (“good”)	606	694
rossz (“bad”)	16	10
szegény (“poor”)	15	39
gazdag (“rich”)	52	7
új (“new”)	316	76
volt / egykori / akkori (“ex”)	31 / 12 / 22	29/ 2 / 2
házas / nős / férjes (“married”)	2 / 93 / 1	0 / 0 / 0
magyar (“Hungarian”)	21	61
fiatal (“young”)	60	68

(8) Table 3.8: Summary of adjective collocations of PASI and CSAJ

Taking a quick scan at the table listing the adjective collocations of CSAJ and PASI, we can make three basic observations. Firstly, we might notice that compared to what we saw in the respective table illustrating the adjective collocations of FÉRFI and NŐ (Table 3.5), here the

numbers are much smaller. Nevertheless, it should come as no surprise if we keep in mind that the very occurrences of the lemmas were smaller too. Secondly, it is easy to spot once again that certain adjectives show very uneven distributions. CSAJ for example is high on physical attributes, just like NŐ (take “beautiful” or “pretty” for example). As for PASI, however, we can identify a new trend: relational adjectives abound unlike with FÉRFI (such as “new” or “ex”). Thirdly, some of the adjectives that seemed to be gender-sensitive in the case of the standard gender lemma-pair now appear to be rather balanced (such as “young” or “good”).

Let us go into a more detailed comparison of the adjective collocations of the two lemmas with the help of the next charts, so we can better understand the gender-specific and the genre-sensitive differences.



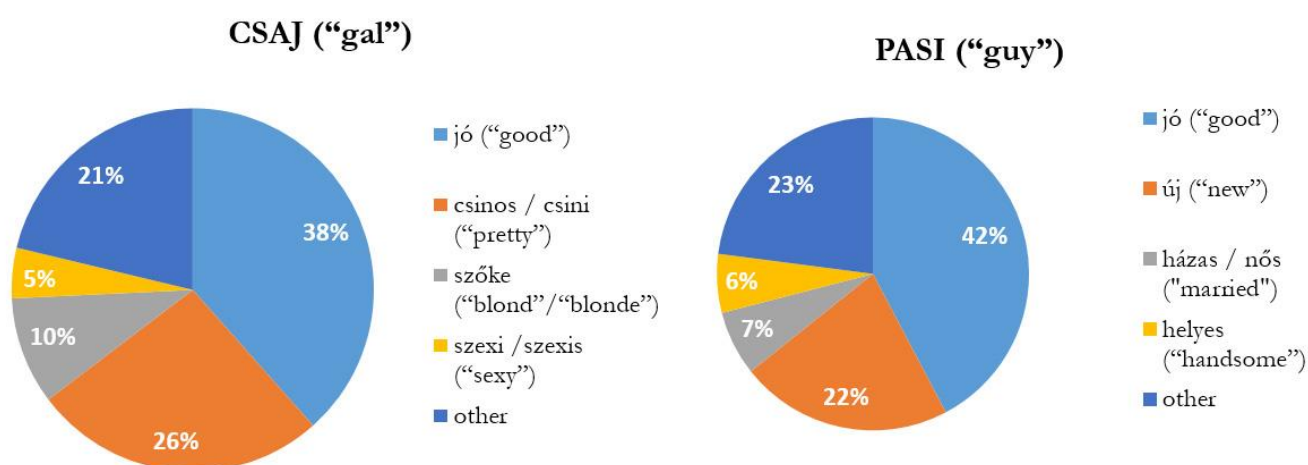
(8) Figure 3.8: Distribution of adjective collocations of CSAJ and PASI

Just like before, most of the adjectives associate more strongly with one of the gender-lemmas. Apart from a couple of cases, though, the differences are not as extreme as with the standard gender lemmas. Adjectives denoting physical appearance still correlate more with the female (such as “beautiful,” “pretty,” “sexy” or once again ethnically-marked “blonde”). Next to *csinos* (“pretty”), I decided to test a close synonym, *helyes* (“handsome”), too. In that case, the numbers favored PASI, but it still cannot be concluded that *csinos* and *helyes* are the two, gender-specific varieties of the same adjective; note that CSAJ also received a good amount of co-occurrences with *helyes*, while it was not so the other way around with *csinos*.

With CSAJ and PASI, personal identification did not prove to be such a clear-cut category as with the standard gender lemmas. With NŐ and FÉRFI, it was the woman that unmistakably dominated the sub-group, but with the informal lemmas it varies with the specific adjective. CSAJ, for example, is perceived more as “cool,” “good” or “poor” (in its “deserving sympathy” meaning). PASI, on the other hand, is more frequently “perfect,” “bad” or “rich” (in its financial meaning).

Relational identification is the most interesting category with this lemma-pair. Previously, in standard language use, it was more or less inexistent. In informal contexts, however, it was one of the main attributive adjectives, mainly for guys. Note the abundance of “new,” “ex,” and especially “married” linked to PASI. Even if we expect that the number of women and the number of men who are married is more or less equal, in discourse guys impressively outnumber gals in this respect. It might first appear counter-intuitive that guys are the ones who are labeled more frequently with their relational status, but it is not so once we realize that PASI appears to be a term denoting not so much “a male (in an informal context)” but “a male *partner*,” sought after and talked about by (heterosexual) women, hence the emphasis on marital or relational status.

At the same time, objective attributes like “Hungarian” or “young” become less important and less gender-specific than before. Again, since the context and the purpose of the discourse are more specific here and a lot different from the usage of the standard gender lemmas, it is not so surprising.



(9) Figure 3.9: The main adjective collocations of CSAJ and PASI

Keeping in mind that PASI and CSAJ appear to be used in the context of romantic/sexual interest, let us see which adjectives are of primary interest when dealing with men and women as (potential) partners (Fig. 3.9). The main adjective collocations of CSAJ are “good,” “pretty,” “sexy,” and “blonde,” revealing that the ideal Hungarian gal looks good, is sexually active, and white. As for PASI, he is linked most often to being “good,” “new,” “married,” and “handsome,” underlining the importance of marital status for guys. Once again, the main adjective collocations paint people to be essential different according to their gender.

What exactly does PASI and CSAJ has to say about masculinity and femininity? Since “good,” “new,” and “married” (thus not eligible) reveal little about the specific person or gender, we are left with three adjectives (“pretty,” “blonde,” and “sexy,” for gals, and “handsome” for guys) to decipher gender stereotypes. As each of these adjectives belong to the physical identification group, it is safe to conclude that according to the corpus appearance is the main concern when talking about people in a dating/relationship context. While guys only need to be good-looking, gals had better be pretty, sexy, and of fair hair. Beauty and blondness were among the top 5 of NŐ’s collocations as well. It is confirmed once again that the female body is more controlled and exposed to social scrutiny (de Beauvoir, 1969; Butler, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Kilyeni, 2009).

As we had expected, firstly because PASI and CSAJ are informal lemmas, and secondly because most of the collocations came from only two sub-corpora, we have indeed spotted some context-specific differences. The abundance of relational adjectives and their primary linkage to males was definitely a result of the context, namely, the special, romantic interpretation of the lemmas. Nevertheless, the principal conclusion we can make based on the collocation analysis of CSAJ and PASI is the same as before, namely, that Hungarian discourse contributes to the binary view of gender through the adjectives it assigns to people.

To sum up the qualitative-quantitative findings regarding adjective collocations of four Hungarian gender lemmas (standard variety NŐ-FÉRFI and informal variety CSAJ-PASI), these are the main conclusions:

- 1) Regarding the standard gender lemmas, the most obvious difference is that FÉRFI has significantly more non-permanent and non-evaluative functionalization attributes (vs permanent and subjective identification definitions) than NŐ where the former category is practically missing.

2) Informal PASI and CSAJ are notably used in the romantic/dating context, so relational identification adjectives are very frequent, while more formal, functionalization definitions are absent.

3) Besides the register-sensitive differences, there are some general findings as well. One of the main conclusions which appears to be register-neutral and general is that physical-personal attractiveness is a feature that discourse connects to women as a primary, gender-defining, expectation, may it be the formal (NŐ) or the informal (CSAJ) lemma. Also, regarding the female lemma we noticed ethnically marked (beauty) standards.

4) The other primary conclusion, now regarding men, is the dominance of adjectives from news-related occurrences, thus, the emphatic presence of males in the public (and often, crime) domain, whether it is the standard (FÉRFI) or the informal lemma (PASI).

### **3.2.2.3. Analysis of generic statements with the gender lemmas**

The third level of the analysis of gender in the Hungarian national corpus is centered on phrases with *minden* (“every”) + gender lemma. The aim of the investigation is to explore what type of generic statements are linked to the respective genders; more specifically, what the gender-specific patterns and domains appear to be. Generic statements about individuals presume, for one, that we perceive them to belong to the same group, and for two, that we regard the group to be highly homogenized. Out-group homogeneity is a well-known psychological process in which we perceive members of other groups to be more similar to each other than members of our own group (N. Kollár & Szabó, 2004: 268). It can be assumed, therefore, that the majority of these generic statements come from people from the opposite sex. The examination, thus, ventures upon exposing what women think essential about men and what men consider inherent about women, according to the corpus.

To uncover these trends, first I ran a quantitative analysis of the aforementioned generic collocations for each lemma (FÉRFI and NŐ, PASI and CSAJ), then I turned to qualitatively examine 100 randomly selected concordance lines for each of them. The examples were then categorized according to domains, which were then compared with the respective pair lemma.

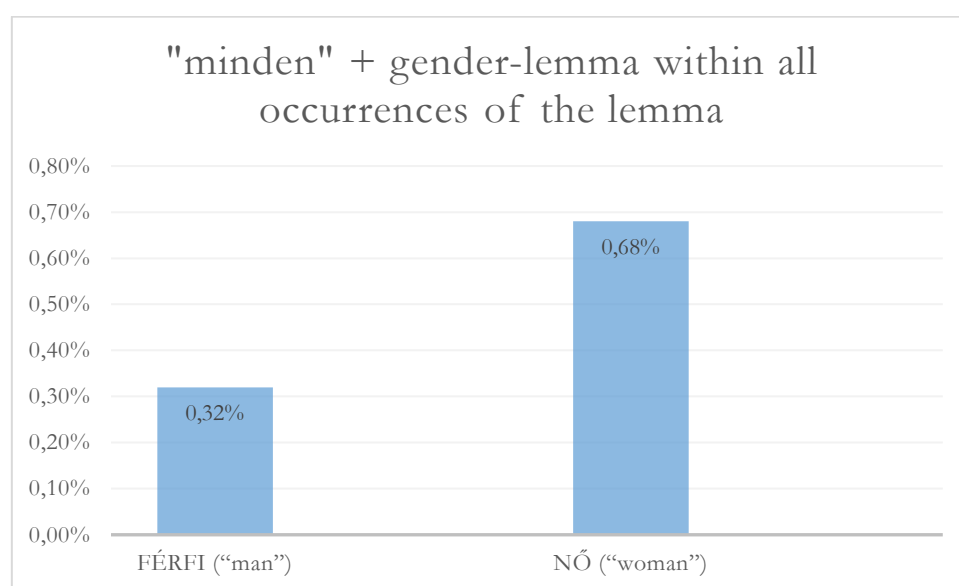
#### **NŐ/FÉRFI**

As before, the discussion of the results will start with the standard gender lemmas, NŐ and FÉRFI. The table below summarizes the quantitative findings regarding the *minden* + gender-lemma constructions and a comparison of gender patterns within the corpus.

	altogether	FÉRFI (“man”)		NŐ (“woman”)	
<i>minden</i> (“every”) + ... phrase	3 886	1 498	39%	2 388	61%
all occurrences of lemmas	809 639	463 318	57%	346 321	43%
ratio of <i>minden</i> phrases within all occurrences	0.48%	0.32%		0.68%	

(9) Table 3.9: Summary of collocations *minden* (“every”) + FÉRFI (“man”) or NŐ (“woman”)

The phrase *minden* (“every”) + gender-lemma occurs 3,886 times in the corpus, as Table 3.9 shows. Within all occurrences of the gender lemmas, these collocations account for a little less than 0.5% (see the bottom cell of column 2). When it comes to the gender-based comparison of these generic statements, the analysis reveals another level of gender imbalance in Hungarian discourse. As the first row of the table shows, the occurrences of *minden* + FÉRFI significantly falls short of the phrases with NŐ. Out of all generic statements, NŐ takes more than 60%. This goes against our expectations based on the prevalence of the FÉRFI lemma in the corpus. We might remember that overall the occurrences of the standard male lemma largely outnumbers those of NŐ. The second row of the table brings us back to those numbers and proportions, reminding us that FÉRFI takes almost 60% of all gender mentions.



(10) Figure 3.10: Ratio of collocations *minden* FÉRFI / NŐ within all occurrences of FÉRFI / NŐ



As I indicated when explaining Table 3.9 before, generic statements connected to the standard gender lemmas make up 0.48% of all the lemma occurrences. Note that due to the higher overall occurrences vs lower generic-phrase occurrences, for FÉRFI this number is much lower, only 0.32%. At the same time, for NŐ where the overall number is lower and the phrase-specific one is higher, the proportion is much higher, 0.68%. In fact, as Figure 3.10 displays, NŐ lemmas collocate with *minden* twice as much as FÉRFI. In other words, in the Hungarian discourse generalizations about women are two times more frequent than about men. Considering the theory of out-group homogeneity, it seems that men tend to perceive and comment women's uniformity more than women do with men (or at least, men have the voice to do so).

After the quantitative comparison, a qualitative collocation analysis was conducted on 100 random example sentences. Based on the context and the content of the phrase, I categorized them into domains, in order to uncover gender-specific patterns. Below is the overview of generic statements regarding women, based on the Hungarian corpus.

<i>minden</i> (“every”)+ NŐ (“woman”)		
categories	subtypes	percentage
excluded	statements including “man” too ( <i>minden nő és férfi</i> ); non-inclusive statements (“ <i>nem minden nő</i> ”)	6%
essentialist (What women are...)	...is the same; ...is a whore / sex symbol; ...is Virgin Mary; opposites (angel and devil)	12.5%
habitual (What women do...)	physical appearance and shopping; female soul; female biology (motherhood); women's rights (employment)	44.6%
relational (How women are in [heterosexual] relationships)	attraction or rejection; dating; sex (passive); female sex (orgasm)	37.3%

(10) Table 3.10: Distribution of collocations *minden* + NŐ

First, I excluded concordance lines which did not provide a generic statement about NŐ. Typically there were two ways for this: one, if the statement included a generalization about all women *and men*, thus, if FÉRFI was included in the sentence as well; two, if the statement

started off with the negative *nem* before *minden nő* (“not every woman”), that is, if the sentence directly went against generalizations. Excluding such sentences left me with 94% of the sentences still.

The remaining examples were divided into three large categories: essentialist statements about women, that is, what women *are*; habitual statements about women, that is, what women *do*; and relational statements about women, that is, how women *behave in (heterosexual) relationships*. The largest group turned out to be the category that describe women’s habits and interests, and with only a small lag statements regarding women’s (heterosexual) mating life came in second. Essentialist commonplaces about women are at 12.5%.

After seeing the numbers, let us go into the specifics. The most numerous category defining feminine habits contains sentences about woman’s appearance, more specifically shopping and beautification, as the largest subgroup. Thus, “the most feminine interest” appears to be taking care of one’s (feminine) looks, according to the corpus. Take the following sentences as examples, pointing out fashion and make-up as key interests for women:

Excerpt 1:

*minden nőnek kötelező tartania egy nyers és egy sötét színű példányt ebből a fazonból*  
“every woman must have a crude and a dark colored piece of this model”

Excerpt 2:

*Ajándékok, aminek minden nő örül: sokan választanak kozmetikai terméket*  
“gifts every woman appreciates: many choose cosmetic goods”

Psychology-themed sentences are not uncommon either, specifically about the “female soul” or about mental-spiritual wellbeing for women. According to the examples, women’s soul is somehow different, and in need to be defined and/or fixed, which women are interested in doing. See Ex. 3-5 describing women’s soul, women’s mood swings, and women’s lack of self-confidence. Note that it is not surprising to link femininity with mental problems; in fact, craziness and mental instability are often connected to women, especially in literary texts (Pearce, 2008: 21).

Excerpt 3:

*alapvető archetípust éli meg minden nő, minden hónapban. Ezek a szűz, az anya*

“every woman experiences a basic archetype each month: the virgin, the mother”

Excerpt 4:

*minden nő ok nélkül sír*

“every woman cries for no reason”

Excerpt 5:

*Segíted a nő önbecsülését. Mert minden nő szép, aki szeret.*

“You can help her self-confidence. Because every woman that loves is beautiful.”

Numerous statements revolve around female biology as well, such as menstruation, labor, and pregnancy, in short, about women’s reproductive ability (or function). Many of the statements talk about the (processes of the) female body in an instructional manner. Once again, it appears as if the female body was the *other* body (de Beauvoir, 1969), the one to explain (Ex. 8) or the one to pathologize (Ex. 7).

Excerpt 6:

*menstruáció, nők, test, tinédzser - Minden nő életében eljön a pillanat, amikor a természet törvényei szerint nővé válik*

“menstruation, women, body, teenager – It comes in every woman’s life when she becomes a woman according to the rules of nature”)

Excerpt 7:

*minden nőnek havonta lenne egy hét szabadsága*

“every woman would have a week-long vacation each month”)

Excerpt 8:

*a női orgazmusról, amit minden nőnek és partnerének tudnia kell*

“about female orgasm that every woman and her partner need to know”)

Finally, when it comes to what women do on the labor market, the generic sentences about women do not talk about achievements, successes or working styles, but about women’s very *right* to even start and engage in money-making activities (Ex. 9-10). Language use clearly reflects that the emancipation process is far from being completed.

Excerpt 9:

*Minden nőnek joga van, hogy hivatást válasszon*

“Every woman has the right to choose a profession”

Excerpt 10:

*Minden nőnek joga van eldönteni, hogy mi akar lenni*

“Every woman has the right to decide what she wants to be”

The second largest category includes statements about women’s (heterosexual) relationships, split up into four subcategories. “Attraction and rejection” contains statements about whether the interest is mutual between the woman and the man; that is, if both parties are engaged and satisfied. It is taken for granted that the man makes the first move, always active (Ex. 11). In some of the sentences the woman seems interested too, and in half of the cases she is even active in expressing it. Nevertheless, twice as many times as she is up for it, the woman dislikes the attraction and actively rejects the suitor. Closely connected to this subgroup, “dating” comes next. According to the sentences categorized here, men are “chasing” and “hunting for” women, while women are “running away from” them, which is all part of heterosexual dating game (Ex. 12). Based on the examples, it is normal that men are interested and women are not, because *in reality* they are too, so men should keep on being actively chasing them. Finally, when it comes to “sex,” it is clearly linked to what men want and women endure – Nő typically appears in a passive voice or as the object of the sentence (Ex. 11, 13) A further interesting addition is that several sentences focus on the female orgasm, again in an instructional tone (check back to Ex. 8). Therefore, it can be summarized that within the domain of heterosexual relationships women are described as passive – and being alright with being passive – or actively against the man’s approach – and being alright with being pursued still. Sex is for the pleasure of the men primarily; but there is some mention of the female orgasm as well, whose main attribute is its mystery.

Excerpt 11:

*minden nőt elcsábítani próbáló*

“trying to seduce every woman”

Excerpt 12:

*Ez a játék része. Minden nő ösztönösen tudja, hogy menekülnie kell.*

“This is part of the game. Every woman knows instinctively that she needs to run.”)

Excerpt 13:

*nem lehet minden nőt meg kúrni, de erre kell törekedni (sic)*

“you cannot fuck every woman but you need to try to”

Turning to the essentialist descriptions, Nő receives antagonistic definitions. On the one hand, women are all whores and sex symbols, who have sex with everyone; on the other

hand, they are also like Virgin Mary, untouchable, sacred mothers. Profoundly erotic and utterly chaste, devils and angels, women are confusing opposites for the outside observers.

Excerpt 14:

*Minden nőben két lélek lakozik: az egyik angyal, a másik “ördög”*

“In every woman two souls dwell: one is the angel and the other is the ‘devil’”

After the analysis of generic statements about women, let us now see how men are perceived from the outside and what the corpus reveals about their gender role. Like before, first I am providing the table that summarizes the main categories and their respective proportions, then I will explain each category in more detail and illustrate them with specific examples.

<i>minden</i> (“every”)+ <i>FÉRFI</i> (“man”)		
categories	subtypes	percentage
excluded	statements including “woman” too ( <i>minden férfi és nő</i> ); non-inclusive statements (“ <i>nem minden férfi</i> ”)	22.2%
essentialist (What men are...)	...is the same; ...is mean / aggressive / primitive; compared to a celebrity (James Bond, Beatles)	8.6%
habitual (What men do...)	male biology (penis and prostate); work; mental-cognitive capacities	26.5%
relational (How men are in [heterosexual] relationships)	desires; relationship; marriage; sex (active);	42%

(11) Table 3.11: Distribution of collocations *minden* + *FÉRFI*

Like before, the first step was eliminating sentences which do not qualify as generic statements about men. Sentences that specifically go against generalizations (“*not every man*”) were excluded, just as phrases that include *NŐ* too (“every man *and woman*”). Compared to what we have seen regarding *NŐ*, here the category of excluded sentences scored high (22.2% vs 6%). The divergence has to do with the typical collocational order of the lemmas; it is much more frequent to say *férfi és nő* than *nő és férfi*, hence, the higher amount of hits for *minden férfi és nő* than for *minden nő és férfi*.

After disqualifying non-generic or non-gender-specific statements, I put the remaining sentences into the previous three categories. Essentialist statements define what men are; habitual statements describe what men do; and relational statements reflect on men's place within a (heterosexual) relationship. Contrarily to NŐ, generic statements about men concentrate on the last category, that is, on their role in relation to women (42% of all sentences), then come habitual statements (26.5%), and finally essentialist definitions (8.6%).

Let us start with relational statements. The four sub-groups of this category are "desires," that is, what men want from women; "relationships," that is, how they feel about being with women; "marriage," that is, what they think about being committed to a woman; and "sex," that is, what role sexuality plays in their lives. The overarching theme of the category is contradiction: men's relationship to women seems to be self-contradictory and complex. On the one hand, men's primary "desire" of a woman is her attractiveness (in Ex. 15 beauty and blond hair are labeled as every man's dream); yet they also wish to be taken care of (Ex. 16). The two main prototypes linked to women, the femme fatale and the mother, come to the surface in these two (heterosexual) male expectations. When it comes to "relationships," ambiguity remains tangible: on the one hand, men seem to appreciate women (or actually, *the* woman) against all odds (Ex. 17); on the other hand, keeping up a relationship with a woman appears to be annoying or even nerve-wrecking (Ex. 18). As for "marriage," the ultimate bond between a woman and a man, is perceived both as beneficial and damaging (Ex. 19-21). Perhaps the only topic in which the examples seem to point in one direction is "sex." According to the generic statements in analysis, sex is a quintessential thing for men, with their partner or without (Ex. 21-22).

Excerpt 15:

*Szép, ravasz és minden férfi álma. Igazi kaliforniai szőkeség*

"She is beautiful, shrewd and every man's dream. A true Californian blonde"

Excerpt 16:

*minden férfi törődést, gondoskodást vár el a nőtől*

"every man expects that the woman takes care of him"

Excerpt 17:

*minden férfi számára csak egy nő létezik*

"for every man there is only one woman"

Excerpt 18:

*minden férfi úgy bánik egy nővel, ahogy lehet*

“every man treats a woman as possible”

Excerpt 19:

*minden férfinak szüksége van egy feleségre*

“every man needs a wife”

Excerpt 20:

*minden férfi szabadon választhat: felesége legyen, vagy egészsége*

“every man can freely choose, whether to have a wife or good health”

Excerpt 21:

*szinte minden férfi néz pornót*

“almost every man watches porn”

Excerpt 22:

*minden férfi csak “azt” akarja*

“every man wants only ‘that’”

Regarding what men do outside of their relationships with women, much less is expressed in a generic manner. There are some sentences, but not as many as for women, about gendered biology. In the case of FÉRFI, examples focus on the male genitals especially the penis or the prostate (Ex. 23). Similarly to women’s statements, employment and work come up, but now not in the legal sense. While women fight to be able to start working, men struggle with working too much (Ex. 24). We can notice significant differences regarding internal qualities as well. Among the generic statements connected to NŐ, there were a number of examples focusing on the female soul. Nevertheless, when it comes to men, it is primarily not the soul but the intellect that plays a key role; Ex. 25, for instance, reveals that all men are believed to think objectively. This gender-based distinction is not surprising at all, as it rings well with the concept of binary opposites, like “rational or emotional,” or “consciousness or instinct,” which frequently get assigned to the male or female principle, another binary pair according to Western philosophical trends (Joó, 2009).

Excerpt 23:

*minden férfi akkor igazán férfi ugye, ha körül van metélve*

“every man is a real man only if he is circumcised”

Excerpt 24:

*“Bárcsak ne dolgoztam volna olyan sokat.” Minden férfi betegem szájából elhangzott.*

“‘If only I hadn’t worked so much.’ I heard it from every male patient of mine”

Excerpt 25:

*szinte minden férfi megpróbál objektív, tehát mérhető alapokon megítélni dolgokat*

“almost every man tries to judge things on objective, thus quantifiable bases”

The last category of generic statements concerning men contains essentialist definitions. Contrary to statements about women which center on two clear-cut and opposing categories like “whore” or “mother,” men’s labels are more varied. Men are “bandits” or “scumbags,” “pigs” or “apes”; therefore, they are perceived to be essentially primitive, mean, and violent. In addition, the examples also define men as being James Bond or Elvis or one of the Beatles, famous, talented, and popular among women. Note that while women are compared to a revered religious figure, Virgin Mary, men are matched with idolized pop stars.

The analysis of randomly selected generic statements about women and men confirmed our previous conclusion, namely that Hungarian discourse makes a clear distinction between people based on their gender. Firstly, women are more often talked about on generic terms than men. Secondly, as if they were the “other,” women’s physiology, behavior, and emotional responses are explained. Thirdly, the large majority of generic statements, both for men and for women, enforces a heteronormative perspective for defining gender roles and legitimizes the active-passive dynamics that lie behind distorted interpersonal relations such as gender-based violence. According to the examples picked out from the Hungarian corpus, the scenario of starting a (heterosexual) relationship goes like this: men are supposed to pursue women and women are supposed to run from them, which does not mean genuine disinterest on the women’s part, so men should not stop the chase (Ex. 11-13). Once in a relationship or even in a marriage, men feel a lot less motivated or determined (Ex. 17-20); at the same time, women continue being passive. As for sex, it is a given that men want it, no matter if it involves (the enjoyment of) the female partner or not (Ex. 13, 21-22). Assigning women to automatic passiveness and men to unquestioning activeness is the very basis of rape culture, which have devastating effects on women and men alike (Herman, 1994).

## **CSAJ/PASI**

After discussing the findings connected to the standard gender lemmas FÉRFI and NŐ, let us move on to scrutinizing the generic statements regarding the informal varieties, PASI and CSAJ.



	altogether	PASI (“guy”)		CSAJ (“gal”)	
<i>minden</i> (“every”) + ... phrase	479	313	65%	166	35%
all occurrences of lemmas	48 650	21 922	45%	26 728	55%
ratio of <i>minden</i> phrases within all occurrences	0.98%	1.43%		0.62%	

(12) Table 3.12: Summary of collocations *minden* + CSAJ or PASI

Table 3.12 presents the amount and the distribution of collocations “every guy/gal” in the corpus (see row 1). As we can see, the occurrences of these phrases are very low (only 479 for the two lemmas combined), and significantly more frequent for PASI (313 vs 166). When contrasted with the general amount and distribution of the respective lemmas (row 2), the divergence seems even more substantial: overall, CSAJ is more frequent in the corpus, but when it comes to generic statements this lemma has less instances than its pair. What this entails is illustrated in row 3. While generic collocations linked to the informal gender lemmas make up 0.98% of all occurrences of the lemmas, with PASI this number is as high as 1.43% and for CSAJ as low as 0.62%. In other words, guys appear to be talked about on generic terms more often than gals. This finding goes completely against what we have seen regarding the standard lemmas. The question arises whether this a register-specific difference, or if it is rooted in the corpus itself. The qualitative analysis will help clarify the question.

When looking more closely into the sample, I noticed that the large majority of the examples come from forum discussions (remember the prevalence of the personal corpus for general CSAJ/PASI occurrences). Why this disparity poses a problem here is that forums have a special characteristic that MNSz does not handle well. When we post an answer to a comment on an online forum, typically, the previous comment is included in our post as well. This means that the entire thread of a discussion might be repeated over and over again when someone adds a new comment. The automatic search tool of MNSz counts every occurrence, even if it is in such repetitions, each time as a separate hit. As a consequence, word-by-word repetitions are very frequent in this sub-corpus, and specifically in this sample. As a matter of fact, the duplications of a single line appeared to be many as 10 to 20 instances, especially in the case of phrases with PASI.

Since the overall number of *minden*-phrases is just a couple of hundred, that is, very small, repetitions of 5-20 times take a too big part of the whole not to distort whatever conclusions we were attempting to make. Unfortunately, therefore, the corpus is not suitable

for the analysis of generic statements regarding the CSAJ and PASI lemmas. Still, to offer a sample of what kind of “general truths” are said about Hungarian gals and guys, I am listing four examples (Ex. 26-29), which were singled out solely because they all came up several times in different concordance lines. Once again, it is clear that the informal lemmas are predominantly used within the dating context, in relation to one another.

Excerpt 26:

*Ülök és hallom, hogy minden csaj kurva*

“I am sitting and listening to them saying that *every gal* is a whore”

Excerpt 27:

*Haha. Minden csaj addig mondogatja h nem szereti a full izmos pasikat*

“Haha. *Every gal* keeps saying she doesn’t like all-muscle guys until”

Excerpt 28:

*Ez a srác majd megdöglik érted. Minden pasi királylányra vágyik*

“This boy would die for you. *Every guy* dreams about a princess”

Excerpt 29:

*tudjuk a sztereotípiát: minden pasi a lepedőakrobata lányokat akarja*

“we know the stereotype: *every guy* wants sex-machine girls”

Let us summarize the primary findings about gender in Hungarian discourse, based on the examination of generic statements of four gender lemmas (standard NŐ-FÉRFI and informal CSAJ-PASI) in the corpus of MNSz. Since the data related to the informal gender lemmas could not be used, the conclusions are based solely on the standard gender lemma pair.

1) Out of all four gender lemmas, NŐ collocates most frequently with *minden*; therefore, generic statements (or restrictive regulations) are most often aimed at women in the Hungarian discourse.

2) When categorized according to domains, most statements about NŐ regarded “feminine” habits and interests such as shopping and beautification, and biological functions like motherhood. As their essence, women are either revered motherly figures or sex symbols.

3) For men, the largest group of generalizations centered on their – ambivalent – relation to and partnership with women. The rest of the categories appear much less uniform – and simplistic – than in the case of women.

4) The large majority of generic statements, about both men and women, are set in a heteronormative context, in which gender roles are strictly split up, mainly along the active-passive axis.

### 3.3. Closing remarks

The present corpus linguistic CDS analysis aimed to explore gender in the Hungarian national corpus. MNSz is a thousand-million-word general corpus of the Hungarian (primarily written) language. Thanks to its size and extensiveness, it is representative of Hungarian language use, which in turn is the basis of cultural meaning-making. Consequently, with the examination of the main Hungarian gender lemmas I intended to explore whether and how national discourse reproduces the social construction of binary gender.

The two lemma pairs, NŐ & FÉRFI (“woman and man”) and CSAJ & PASI (“gal and guy”), were subjected to a three-level examination, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. First, I compared the frequency of the lemmas in the corpus (and the sub-corpora) in order to study the visibility of the genders (in given contexts). Then, adjective-collocations were put under scrutiny, for the sake of finding the main gender-typical attributes. Finally, generic statements (phrases with “every”) were examined, so that the primary gender-typical domains can be identified.

The analysis clearly confirms that the Hungarian national discourse treats gender as a binary category, reinforcing the social concept that people are either women or men, and essentially different. The male lemmas appeared significantly more often in press-related texts or with news-related adjectives than the female lemmas, upholding the notion that the public domain belongs to men. Contrarily, female lemmas came up much more in personal conversations, which is a testament that the private sphere is still a feminine territory. When people are defined with attributes, women are perceived to have permanent and non-neutral qualities (viewed from the “neutral” male perspective), while men are observed with more flexibility and less judgement. Women’s appearance is of primary concern; their physical-personal attractiveness (along with their pronouncedly white ethnicity) is a feature that

discourse connects to women as an essential, gender-defining expectation. When it comes to romantic relationships, heterosexuality is a natural given, in which gender roles are rigid: men play the active role, while women are passive consenters (or rejecters). Regarding generic statements, women are significantly more often affected: on the one hand, they are the targeted of more generalizations than men, and these generalizations are more uniform, thus limiting, than for men.

Language plays a crucial role in normalizing (or pathologizing) social roles thanks to its pervasive presence in our lives. After the comprehensive analysis of Hungarian language use related to gender, it is time to see what a more specialized analysis of contemporary Hungarian discourses reveal about femininity and masculinity. In the postmodern world, media is a key player in the construction of social norms and interpretations; in the next chapter we will, therefore, look at media discourse, analyzing how one of the most powerful ideological tools, (women's and men's lifestyle) magazines, contribute to gender construction.

## Chapter 4: Gender in Popular Culture

In the present chapter, we are shifting our attention from language use to popular culture. I will start off by introducing Western media discourse about gender, explicating how the main media genres like movies or television – and pop culture in general – construe gender in the globalized world. This, then, will lead us to the scrutiny of a specific segment of it, magazine discourse, which will be put in an international and then a local context. Finally, the chapter will turn to providing a detailed analysis of Hungarian lifestyle magazines. The textual-discursive-social examination will attempt to identify the primary pillars of femininity and masculinity in the discourse of Hungarian women's and men's lifestyle magazines, applying Jäger & Maier's (2009) multidimensional CDS approach. The goal of the chapter is to explore in what ways gender construction in media discourse is similar to or different from the gender representation of language use we saw in Chapter 3.

### 4.1. Popular culture and discourse

What is popular culture and why analyze it? Popular culture is the sum of *cultural practices* *cultural texts* that people use to produce meaning (Milestone & Meyer, 2012). As Giddens puts it, identity is formed essentially by the narrative we choose for ourselves (1991: 54), and popular culture is the backdrop to those narratives; it is what creates meaning, and a context for our identities. To take an example for popular culture, Bridget Jones exists only within the story of *Bridget Jones's Diary*, not on its own, and the interpretation of her being a troubled, overweight, single woman can be understood only within the frames of our popular culture in which women are expected to look thin, be in a relationship, and yearn to have children (all of which she fails to do, hence her stigma as an awkward, unfeminine woman). Similarly, our identity gets its meaning only within the context of our personal narrative and in the context of our popular culture. It is, thus, crucial to examine what serves as reference points for our (gender) identities.

Popular culture is tightly linked to mass media; in fact, to emphasize the interwoven relation of media and popular culture, the term “media culture” is often used in exchange for “popular culture” (Storey, 2006). Media constructs meaning by producing, representing, and offering identities for consumption through discourse. One of the biggest debates regarding

the impact of media is whether it controls people or people control it. According to different theories, the answer is different: on one end (represented, for example, by Max Horkheimer & Theodor Adorno [1979]), mass media is a salient power apparatus, which imposes its values over masses of people. As Adorno puts it, “[t]he customer is not king, as the culture industry would have us believe, not its subject but its object” (1991: 85). According to this view, people’s critical thinking is obstructed by the mass production of cultural values, and people passively absorb what is offered to them, regarding, say, their gender or sexual identity.

On the other hand, the consumption of popular culture is viewed in a much more active and critical fashion by some theorists (Hall, 1973; Fiske, 1989). Stuart Hall’s “encoding/decoding model” suggests that while the media does encode a certain message it is the audience that will decode it, in its own way(s). Following this theory, John Fiske goes even further to underline the power of the audience over the media in interpreting texts, thus, social messages. As he puts it, “[c]ulture is a living, active process: it can be developed only from within, it cannot be imposed from without or above” (Fiske, 1989: 23); culture, therefore, can be perceived as an enabler, a source of diverse interpretations, of gender identities as well.

Obviously the above two standpoints are extremes on a continuum in “media effects” research. While not denying the agency of the audience, it is still reasonable to point to the responsibility of the media. Due to its “near exclusive control over the symbolic resources needed to manufacture popular consent” (Van Dijk, 1991: 42-43), the media has great influence over what appears normal. Popular culture, and with it the media, is a site of struggle and political contest: whoever controls media controls meaning production. In Gramsci’s (1971) terms, media (discourse) is a tool to reinforce ideology or cultural hegemony. As it was mentioned before, the essence of hegemonic meaning production is to manipulate cultural values and perceptions so that the status quo, serving the interests of the ruling elite, appears as natural, normal, inevitable, and beneficial for all. The goal of normalizing certain perceptions and pathologizing others is achieved in discourse through reinforcement and reward for accepted interpretations, and invisibility and punishment for the alternatives. Note, for example, how heteronormativity is justified through the default, widespread portrayal of heterosexual relationships in films, songs, television, or magazines (“reinforcement”), and the scarcity or lack of it in the case of homosexual (or more broadly, LGBTQ+) bonds (“symbolic annihilation”). Even if homosexuality appears, it has often been stigmatized (like in the movie *Philadelphia*) or punished (like in *Boys Don’t Cry*) through

heteronormative discourse.<sup>10</sup> Since cultural hegemony requires that its discourse is constantly reinforced and reaffirmed so that it can feel consensual and natural, media plays a crucial role in this process with its systematic and repetitive interpretations of visibility and invisibility.

How gender is construed by (Western) media discourse has been discussed thoroughly (see for example McRobbie, 2000; Gill, 2007; Gauntlett, 2008; Milestone & Meyer, 2012). Media research reveals a uniform portrayal of femininity, as opposed to masculinity. Women are typically portrayed, and defined, through their relations, primarily to their (male) partner. Looking attractive is an imperative, because that is the way to find a boyfriend, a partner, a husband. Even if lately women are illustrated in a more multi-dimensional way, interested for example in their profession or enjoying sex for their own sake, at the end of the story it is always finding a partner that seems to fulfill them. Let us think of some of the biggest hits of Sandra Bullock, an actress who generally plays “atypical women.” In *Miss Congeniality* (2000), *Two Weeks’ Notice* (2002), or *Heat* (2013) it is not enough that the female protagonist is self-assertive, talented, and successful at what she does (key qualities in leading women’s magazine *Cosmopolitan*), she constantly gets mocked for not caring about female beauty standards or dating men, that is, for being unfeminine. In each of the films, there must be a male character who finally makes her soften up.<sup>11</sup> For women being single is considered and accepted only as a phase, because it is against their “true nature.”

Men, on the other hand, are not portrayed to be in need of relationships (Milestone & Meyer, 2012). Many of the popular action movies are fine without having any female protagonists; men are defined through their strength, skills, character, and success, not through their relations (to list some of the movies with all-male protagonists: *Rambo*, *Master and Commander*, *Expendables*, or *Lawrence of Arabia*). A growingly popular sub-genre of action movies is comic book adaptations, typically capturing male fantasy. For the last 20 years, superhero movies, like *Batman* or *X-Men* (from DC Comics and from Marvel, the two main comic book publishers, respectively), have been producing blockbusters practically every year. It is interesting to note that male characters clearly outnumber these hero-saves-world themed films, but recently more and more women can claim some role in doing good for the world (some of the characters are Cat Woman, Elektra, or Dr. Jean Grey). The scantily

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<sup>10</sup> It is fair to note that the tendency is getting better: there are more and more (positive or neutral) portrayals of the LGBTQ+ community, for example in TV shows (for example, *The L Word*, *Modern Family*, *Once Upon a Time*, *Gypsy*, *13 Reasons Why*, and *Sense 8*, among others.)

<sup>11</sup> Again, some progress can be identified: in the most recent *Heat* she does not have to start dating the male character; for her to “become a woman,” it is enough that she admits her attraction to a man.

clad amazon *Wonder Woman*, from 2017, is the most recent and most popular of the few films with a female lead. According to media discourse, generally it is still men's duty to care about *the world*, while women are there to care about *men*.

Magazines are one of the most popular, thus influential, genres in media. Magazines dedicated specially for women have a long tradition. Even if lifestyle magazines for men only took off in the 1990s (Gauntlett, 2008: 168), today they are also important sources to consume and construe masculine subjectivities. Nevertheless, before we could go into examining their discourse about the genders, we need to first understand the frames in which magazines operate. Looking at magazines from the perspective of market economy, we can easily realize that their existence, thus their content, depends on profit (Gill, 2007: 181). Profit comes from advertising, which explains why glossy magazines like *Cosmopolitan* or *Playboy* contain a great amount of ads. The primary purpose of the content, therefore, is to attract and sell the right audience to the advertisers. This is why the products on sale and the articles are often intertwined and influence each other a lot. Finally, since the goal of the magazines is to facilitate the consumption of given products, the articles, and the magazine itself, need to find a tone and a style that appears as a friendly advice. They need to build a community of friends in which reading the magazine is a prestige and following the trends is a given. Both *Playboy* and *Cosmopolitan* refer to their readers as part of the (respective) club or community. The above (market economic) frames have a significant impact on the discourse and the gender construction of magazines.

First of all it must be noted that lifestyle magazines describe men and women to be fundamentally different (Gauntlett, 2008: 215), in appearance, in character, in interests, in focus, and in social roles, which clearly enforces the binary construction of gender. According to studies, people consume magazines (or media) critically (Crane, 2003: 329), but it does not mean that they are unaffected by what they are exposed to. For example, to address eating disorders in the wake of pop culture's obsession with size 0 celebrities (especially females), BBC Radio One released an online survey in 2007, which revealed that most British teenage girls perceived themselves overweight (despite their objective size) and considered plastic surgery (Gauntlett, 2008: 202). Numbers for boys were much lower, which will be easy to understand after the analysis of the magazine's discourses aimed at the two genders.

Let us first see how femininity is portrayed in lifestyle magazines. Women's magazines explicitly function as friendly counselors or counseling friends to their female audience, much more than men's magazines (Szlávi, 2012b). The primary theme is looking



glamorous and attractive; that is, an obsession with appearance. Even if women's magazines are widely segmented (based on which group of women they are addressing), the overarching theme is an urge to actively do about one's looks. The other recurring topic is love, romance, and relationships. In other words, the main issues women are assisted in are how to look good and how to get / keep a boyfriend. Women are portrayed through their relations, firstly to men, and secondly to their children or community.

There has been a change in recent years, however. Pop culture created a new femininity, which describes the new woman as independent, sexually assertive, seeking success and pleasure, and having fun; in short, the "fun, fearless female" (Gill, 2007: 192). Consequently, the contents of the magazines have been enriched with new elements: first of all, the focus on celebrities as reference points and sources of entertainment; (heterosexual) sex and the sexualization of the female (and sometimes male) body; and feminist language of empowerment (control and pleasure) (Gill, 2007: 184). The change led to inconsistent and conflicting discourses, though. Women are encouraged to engage in sex for their own pleasure; yet most of the tips to "enhance your sex life" centers on (vaginal, and even anal) penetration and male pleasure, driving women away from their clitoris. As for feminist principles, magazines embrace some of them (like the right to work) but remain to be highly racial and heteronormative (Gill, 2007: 200). The new trend stirs criticism for abandoning traditional femininity, but also because it still leaves women on unequal terms with men. For example, women are still more likely to be punished for drinking and extramarital sex; it is enough to think of the mainstream discourse about gender-based violence, in which the (female) victim is all too often the one to blame, instead of the (male) perpetrator. Similarly, even though magazines (and movies) illustrate more and more self-made women, their ultimate goal, the so-called fulfillment, is still to find a (male) partner.



(11) Figure 4.1: Teenage girl magazine cover

In teenage magazines the main topics are fashion and beauty; suggesting that the central concern (already) for the female adolescent is looking good (McRobbie, 2000). The ideal female body is pretty, small, thin, hairless, and made up, yet looking natural. The feminine self-identity is increasingly based on appearance (from as early as teenage years), much more than the masculine. In line with hegemonic ideas, the constant urge for women to beautify themselves (with rigorous diets, constant shaving, and chemicals on the face) is portrayed, thus normalized, as an inner need, satisfying women themselves, not the men with the gaze. In teen magazines, celebrity and pop culture play an even more important role than in women's magazines.

It is only recently that women are depicted as being interested in their careers; previously it was the privilege of men. Nevertheless, even now family and motherhood are illustrated as necessary and life-changing experiences for women, superior to work ambitions. As it was mentioned before, this "gender difference" has been used as justification for women's lower wages on the labor market (Milestone & Meyer, 2012).

Moving on to the analysis of men's magazines and the construction of masculinities, it is apparent that men are treated differently as consumers. The assumption that "men produce and women consume" was a long standing dichotomy in the market (Breazeale, 2003: 230). As a consequence, there are much less lifestyle magazines for men, and even those that exist are fairly recent. The reasons for this lie in two assumptions: one, that men do not define themselves through reading but through something more pronouncedly active like doing sports, driving cars, etc., hence the abundance of specialized magazines but not explicitly male lifestyle magazines. Two, men do not like to be told what to do or to be intimate; hence, magazines found themselves in trouble what tone to use not to scare them off with the advice or the homosexual threat of intimacy (Gill, 2007: 204). Nevertheless, with the rise of feminism many things changed in 1980s-1990s, including the discourse about men. According to Gauntlett, men have been seriously affected by the changes of post-traditional societies, as they feel their roles as breadwinners and heads of the family have been taken, thus leaving them in an identity crisis (2008: 179). He points out that men's path-seeking is clearly illustrated by the fact that more and more self-help books are addressed to and / or consumed by men, which has no precedence, not unlike lifestyle magazines.

According to traditional masculinity, men are strong, assertive, even aggressive, rational, competitive, and exclusively heterosexual. Their strength comes both from their character and physique, but they are not concerned with their looks. They are independent and

driven by their sexual needs, which they seek satisfaction for, even violently if necessary (Milestone & Meyer, 2012). For reference to traditional masculinity, it is enough to think about Western movies from the 1950s. In the emancipation process, however, this form of masculinity became outdated. The “new man” and the “new lad” are the dominant masculinities in postmodernity. The new man is still strong and assertive, and still defines himself through his career, but he has become self- and health-conscious. His identity is based most of all on what he consumes, which is why lifestyle magazines could start to address men too. The new man is more respectful of women, which is showed by the fact that lifestyle magazines, although still obsessed with scantily clad women, instruct men about how to please their female partners (even if mainly for the purpose of guaranteeing their own satisfaction) (Gauntlett, 2008: 171). The male body has also started to become sexualized, although not to the extent, nor in the manner of the female body’s fetishization. The masculine body is strong and muscular; its aesthetics is achieved through hard work and exercise. In opposition to this, feminine beauty, due to its obsession with thinness, comes from diet: her achievement, thus, is self-restraint. Apart from women as sexual objects or partners, and physical activity, men’s lifestyle magazines focus on entertainment, culture, and serious topics, such as politics, technology, or economy, related to the public sphere, which women’s magazines do not discuss.



(12) Figure 4.2: Men’s magazine covers

The other form of postmodern masculinity is the “new lad,” who is the mixture of the above two masculine identities. He is a womanizer, a trait linked to traditional masculinity, yet he cares for his looks, just like the “new man.” The dominant tone of “new lad”

magazines, like American *Esquire* or British *Loaded*, is irony, which works as a defensive shield against having to take advice (which these magazines are about, even if often in a much more subtle way than women's magazines). Men's magazines also address problems and challenges but they must be disguised to maintain the expectation that men are strong and independent. As Gauntlett puts it, men's lifestyle magazines are based on conflicting discourses that (1) men now need guidance to construct their masculinity and (2) the very same masculinity assumes that they cannot be insecure (2008: 179). The abundance of naked women is another sign of disguised insecurity: the intimate tone of the magazine needs to be compensated for by an emphasis on heterosexual sex and often a degrading tone against women, and women's magazines (Breazeale, 2003: 240).

No matter which masculinity we want to focus on, a general characteristic of a man, according to men's magazines, is his obsession with sex. Recurring figures in men's magazines are (half-) naked women, typically in objectifying positions (Figure 4.2). Women are simultaneously portrayed (for men) as provocative and disdainful in their sexuality, which definitely provides ideological grounds for gender-based violence. Note that it is only a recent trend that women are legitimized to be in charge of their sexuality, but the focus is still on penetration, even if it is well-known that vaginal stimulation does *not* lead to orgasm for the majority of women. Yet, the discourse prevails, as it is aimed at reaffirming hegemonic power relations and heteronormativity.

## **4.2. Gender in the discourse of Hungarian magazines**

The upcoming part of the chapter presents the results of a CDS analysis of the discourse of Hungarian magazines from the perspective of gender construal. First, I will introduce the context, by giving a short overview of the magazine scene in Hungary and identifying the main magazines aimed at women and at men. Then I will explain the methodology of how the discourse of the identified magazines will be put under scrutiny; finally the selected magazines and some of their typical texts will be analyzed.

The Hungarian magazine scene is divided up between two large media groups, *Central Médiasoport* and *Marquard Media*, who publish most of the magazines we find at the newsstands.

Central Médiacsoport (<https://centralmediacsoport.hu>), formerly Sanoma Budapest, has a significant share in the Hungarian magazine market, publishing well-known magazines like *Nők Lapja*, Hungary's oldest women's magazine (see Chapter 2), or *Cosmopolitan*, the most well-known women's magazine in the world. As they claim on their website, they reach more than half of the Hungarian population with their 25 print magazines, 25 special editions, and 19 online publications every month. The overwhelming majority of their portfolio focuses on women, who they address in highly segmented way, offering content for women of different age groups, different economic statuses, different education levels, different places of living, and different interests. Since Central Médiacsoport concentrates on women as their main consumers and segments their publications meticulously, most of the women's magazines available in Hungary are part of their portfolio. Therefore, what Hungarian women read (at least in print) most probably comes from Central Médiacsoport.

For example, the company publishes weekly (women's) magazines like the above mentioned *Nők Lapja*, whose target audience are women between 18 and 59, who live in cities, have at least a high school diploma, and consider family as their central value, and *Meglepetés*, which is targeted at lesser educated women living in the countryside. Central Médiacsoport's website divides the monthly magazines into "fashion and beauty magazines" like *ELLE*, *Marie Claire*, or *Cosmopolitan* (which is more typically considered a "lifestyle magazine"), "lifestyle, health and soul magazines" like *Kismama* (which is a parenting magazine), *Házipatika* (which is practically a pharmaceutical magazine), or special editions of *Nők Lapja* like *Ezotéria* (regarding Western esotericism), *Egészség* (regarding health), or *Pszichó* (regarding psychology). Some other special editions of *Nők Lapja* and *Meglepetés* focus on home decor and gastronomy. To sum up, women's or women-centered magazines, may they be global brands (like *Cosmo*, *ELLE* or *Marie Claire*) or local (like *Nők Lapja* or *Meglepetés*), include, thus normalize themes like fashion, beauty, body, soul, family, and household; in short, appearance and the private sphere.

Next to magazines targeting specifically women, Central Médiacsoport's portfolio contains exploration and adventure magazines (*National Geographic* and its special editions) and car magazines (*Autó Magazin* and its special editions) as well. These magazine groups are not aimed particularly at a given gender but their brand description does include explicit and implicit references that men are more targeted. Not only is the language used in the descriptions radically different from what we find in the introductions of women's magazines

(from style to vocabulary), but when describing the main audience it is plainly noted to be more male than female.

The other large media company is Marquard Media ([www.marquardmedia.hu](http://www.marquardmedia.hu)), which is an international company, present in Hungary for more than 20 years. As opposed to Central Médiacsoport, Marquard publishes both men's and women's magazines (even if still more of the latter), typically global brands. As for women's lifestyle magazines, Marquard's portfolio contains *Joy*, the most popular magazine in Hungary and rival of *Cosmopolitan*, and *Éva*, a Hungarian brand created 10 years ago for "intelligent" family-centered women, as a rival publication of *Nők Lapja*. Apart from lifestyle magazines, the media group offers women fashion (*InStyle*) and fitness (*Shape*) for consumption. That is, according to Marquard, the main themes women like to read about are: fashion, fitness, and family; in short, their body and their relations.

Men are considered to read less, and "when they do, they do it on the toilet," as Tímea Tomsits, editor in chief of *Men's Health* magazine, expresses the (secondary) role of men's magazines on Marquard's website. Yet, there are certain themes that seem to be interesting for men too, and the magazines that do manage to address those themes in an engaging way can prevail. Nevertheless, most of the men's lifestyle magazines proved to be short-lived, at least in print, in Hungary (*GQ*, *Max*, *FHM*, and *CKM* all ceased to operate in Hungary). Nowadays the most popular (men's) magazines in Hungary are published by Marquard. The first one is "masculine entertainment" magazine *Playboy*, which is undoubtedly the most well-known men's magazine worldwide, and the second one is *Men's Health*, a workout and nutrition magazine, which defines itself to be about "fitness, nutrition, health, sex, style, grooming, tech, weight loss, and more." It is not a coincidence that both magazines that seem to survive in Hungary are global brands, and they do contain a lot of international (or rather, American) content. Nevertheless, the Hungarian publications do aim to adjust to the local audience to some extent. Scrolling through the articles of the magazine reveals that *Playboy* puts a clear emphasis on localization. As a matter of fact, the brand description of the magazine specifically calls attention to the difference between the local and the global publication, claiming the former to be more advanced. The editor-in-chief István Bus, previously working for *Nők Lapja*, writes: "One of the most recent mottos of the American Playboy is 'Make yourself a better man!' The truth is, we have been editing the Hungarian version in this spirit for a long time" (my translation). Apart from these popular brands, the media group just launched a new magazine for men, *Apa Magazin*, which, according to the

brand description, is a pioneering publication for portraying the world from a father's perspective, showing the joys and challenges of being a modern dad in an honest and entertaining way" (my translation). In sum, according to a superficial overview of the magazines on offer for men, it seems the main male themes to consume are entertainment, sex, fitness, nutrition, style, and recently fatherhood.

#### 4.2.1. Methodology

To analyze how gender appears in the discourse of Hungarian magazines, it seemed most logical to turn to the most popular, thus most influential (monthly) magazines as texts. In the case of men, the choice was easy: *Playboy* and *Men's Health* offered themselves for scrutiny. As for women's magazines, I decided to go with *Cosmopolitan* and *Joy*<sup>12</sup> because they both claim to be *the* leading women's magazine. According to Central Médiacsoport's website, *Cosmopolitan* has 84,000 readers every month and 167,000 followers on Facebook. On the cover of every *Cosmo*, right under the title of the magazine, it reads: "Hungary's most read women's monthly magazine." As for *Joy*, the brand description on Marquard Media's site starts by affirming that *Joy* has been *the* market leading women's magazine for many years. When it comes to numbers, it is printed in 50,000 copies each month, its website has 83.000 visitors every month, and its Facebook site is followed by 255,000 people.<sup>13</sup> Which one is truly the most widely read is doubtful but it must be acknowledged that both of them indeed reach a large amount of (mainly middle-class, college-educated, heterosexual) Hungarian women. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that each of the four magazines selected are international brands with a varied mix of local and global content, so the examination of their gender narratives inevitably uncovers (Western) global trends, not purely Hungarian.

To analyze the typical discourse of what appear to be Hungary's most widely read monthly magazines, I have applied Jäger & Maier's (2009) multidimensional CDS methodology, which I will briefly summarize. In order to uncover how, in their example, racism permeates the media, they chose to focus on the discourse stands of immigration, for the analysis of which they decided to confine their research to the discourse plane of magazines. Once the main magazines were selected, a three-dimensional analysis of their

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<sup>12</sup> For the sake of consistency, I ruled out *Nők Lapja*, despite its high number of published copies, because it is a weekly magazine, unlike the rest.

<sup>13</sup> As a reference, the numbers for *Men's Health* and *Playboy* are much lower. For *Men's Health* it is 20,000 printed copies a month, 50,000 website visitors a month, and 28,000 Facebook followers. For *Playboy* it is 24,000 printed copies a month, 85,000 website visitors a month, and 31,400 Facebook followers. Note that these statistics show lower interest than for women's magazines in general, except for *Playboy*'s website visits, which is outstandingly high probably due to its anonymous availability.

discourse took place: the structural or general analysis of the discourse strand comes first, then the detailed analysis of selected discourse fragments follow, and finally the synoptic analysis closes the scrutiny (Jäger & Maier, 2009: 53-54). The structural analysis is aimed at pinpointing the context and the general tendencies of the magazine by examining the layout, the illustrations, and the symbols of the magazine; the topics of the articles; and their focus and frequency. The goal is to identify trends and typical texts connected to the subject matter, which will lead to the second step (Jäger & Maier, 2009: 55). As the next layer, selected parts of the magazine are subjected to detailed analysis, to find out what the article – deemed typical of that magazine – communicates and implies, based on its vocabulary, symbols, argumentation, and assumptions (Jäger & Maier, 2009: 56). Finally, the closing, synoptic analysis serves to provide an overall assessment of the magazine's discourse position on the subject matter.

In this vein, I will start my examination, of the construction of gender in Hungarian women's and men's lifestyle magazines, with the structural characterization of the main magazines of Hungary. The general analysis will focus on three fundamental aspects. First, I will examine the brand description or positioning of the magazine available on the publisher's website, which serves to reveal their worldview, their values, their goals, and their ideal audience; in short, to get an overview of the basics of their discourse position about gender and their relationship with the specific gender. Then, to see how it manifests itself in practice, I will look at the most important part of the magazines, their covers. The quantitative examination of the front pages of these four magazines, encompassing a whole year, serves to uncover the main topics, symbols, and layout of the selected magazines. After the general, quantitative-focused analysis, I will turn to scrutinizing the inside of the magazines in more detail. For this one of the issues will be selected. At this point, I will move beyond a strictly textual analysis. Given that the magazines are increasingly visual genres, I will examine them from a slightly multimodal perspective as suggested by van Leeuwen (2014), considering not just verballity but to some extent visuality too and uncovering how these two semiotic modes work together. The examination will entail the scrutiny of the structure, themes, and emphases of the magazines, along with commenting on how the layout, the images, the colors, and the design combine with the verbal message. Additionally, content-wise I will check the ratio of advertisements and articles, and the authorship of the articles. The goal of this part is to identify the main ideas of the magazine issue and its discourse, so we can pinpoint typical articles for the detailed analysis of a discourse fragment. The typicality of an article will



depend on two things. One, that it addresses (one of) the theme(s) identified before as primary themes, and two, that it appears on the front page, thus, offered for primary consumption.

Once the selection is made for each of the four magazines, the chosen texts will be examined in detail. I will explore the context, such as why it is typical, what purpose it serves in the magazine, what occasion it was written for, where it is located within the magazine, etc. Then, the layout and the structure of the article will be addressed. Finally, the rhetorical means (like style, argumentation, and assumptions) will be analyzed, together with the primary message of the discourse fragment. All this will be done concentrating on their construction of femininity and masculinity.

Each magazine will be studied in a separate section. We will start with women's *Cosmopolitan* and *Joy*, then we will move on to men's *Men's Health* and *Playboy*. In the end a comparison will be provided.

#### **4.2.2. Results**

##### **4.2.2.1. Women's magazines**

In this section the discourse of women's lifestyle magazines will be examined. Like it was mentioned before, *Cosmopolitan* and *Joy* were selected from the multitude of women's magazines due to their immense popularity among Hungarian women. *Cosmopolitan* is one of the main brands of Central Médiacsoport, and it is the most well-known (originally American) women's magazine in the world. *Joy*, on the other hand, belongs to the rival media group Marquard, and the magazine is originally from Germany but by now it has spread across Central and Eastern Europe. Both arrived in Hungary at the end of the 1990s. For the general analysis, I started with a quantitative-qualitative examination, which was composed of two parts. First I scrutinized the brand descriptions on the site of their respective publisher to see how the magazine defines itself; second I checked the headlines of magazine issues covering a year in 2017-2018, to compare how the magazine's self-positioning and construction of femininity manifests itself in practice. Finally, for the detailed examination I selected the New Year's issue and one of the articles from that issue.

##### ***Cosmopolitan***

Although the first issue of the magazine was published as early as the 1880s, until the 1960s it was very different from what we know today as *Cosmopolitan*. Iconic editor-in-chief Helen Gurley Brown changed the magazine from a mediocre family, later literature, monthly into a

successful magazine of the working woman. Originally she was targeting pink-collar workers who were single and without an education or social circles (that is, women in lower economic status and with lower education than today's target audience). The magazine was aimed at teaching women how to be upwardly mobile (that is, how to jump social classes), by mimicking upper class women, mostly in looks, and by using sex (Ouellette, 2003). Brown invented the Cosmo Girl, a self-made woman, who is goal-oriented and assertive, cares much about her looks, and is conscious about her sexuality. Even if today's Cosmo girls are higher on the social ladder (that is, it is mostly middle-class women who read the magazine worldwide), the main principles or themes in the magazine are essentially unchanged.

*Cosmopolitan* is a global magazine, which is printed in over 60 countries. The brand is highly centralized, which, for local versions like the Hungarian, implies following universal guidelines and using a lot of translated content. In addition, the Hungarian brand description (available on the publisher's website and in Appendix 9) has not changed a single word in the last six-seven years, despite the obviously changing context (for one, *Cosmo*'s Hungarian publisher changed, and for two, the Hungarian social context changed too, which seem to be reflected by the modified descriptions of other magazines). In Szlávi (2012b) I analyzed the brand descriptions of the main Hungarian women's magazines as they were around 2011-2012. Looking at the descriptions I downloaded and analyzed back then and comparing them with what is available now in 2017-2018, an interesting trend can be identified. While most of the magazine descriptions have been adapted since then to the latest social trends in Hungary, for example *Kismama* added the role of fathers (and grandparents) in child birth, or *Nők Lapja* mentioned that it is written not only for (family-centered) women but sons, husbands, and grandfathers too, *Cosmopolitan* remained intact.

Its brand description or positioning has been one that defines the magazine as a club of (girl)friends where membership is a privilege and the key to success. According to the magazine, "success" means that a woman who reads *Cosmopolitan*, thereby becoming a Cosmo Girl (that is, her readership turns part of her identity), will be "able to accomplish anything she wants." As the description begins, "[t]he world is ours," where the first person plural unites all women and puts them in control, in conscious contrast with traditional discourse about the "weaker sex." These excerpts, therefore, give us the impression that *Cosmopolitan* embraces and promotes feminist values, such as empowerment, community, success, and proactiveness. Nevertheless, the second paragraph of the description, which is aimed at showing in detail *why* it is worth for a woman to read the magazine, explicitly states

that it is so because she needs “help and counseling.” In order to manage her life, she can turn to the magazine, which poses as her “best friend who is there to give advice on everything.” It is later defined what counts as “everything” that matters. “Fashion,” “beauty,” “keeping up to date about celebs,” “health,” “sexual life,” and “relationships”; that is, looks and body, and real and pop-world relationships mean the world to a Cosmo Girl. In order for her to be successful in life (that is, in these aspects), the Cosmo Girl requires and depends on friendly advice. *Cosmopolitan*, therefore, construes femininity through the conflicting discourses of empowerment, promising success and personal goals, and dependence, linking all that success to external guidance (even if pronouncedly not male anymore). In short, *Cosmo*’s construal of womanhood is in the intersection of postmodern feminism and traditional womanhood.

After the two-paragraph brand description, its essence is summarized in a couple of bullet-points. First, the “Pillars” of the magazine are listed, which are: beauty and fashion, lifestyle, relationship, career, entertainment, and sex (in this order). Note that the recurring keywords of the text are fashion, beauty, relationships, and sex. Second, the “Target Group,” that is, the type of women for whom the above described discourse of femininity is offered for consumption, is defined too. The Cosmo Girl, who is looking into empowering herself with the help of the Cosmo club, is most likely between 18 and 39, has a secondary or tertiary degree, lives in cities, and sees herself as cheerful, active, and young. In short, it appears that broad layers of women are addressed as potential Cosmo Girls, but it must be admitted that the defined location and education do set class- and ethnicity-based limits to its readership.



(13) Figure 4.3: Two covers of *Cosmopolitan*

After the analysis of the discourse in the magazine's self-positioning text, let us see how all this manifests itself in the magazine. For a comprehensive overview, I have performed a quantitative analysis of the covers of the magazine encompassing a whole year (from April 2017 until March 2018). The complete list of the magazine covers analyzed is displayed in Appendix 10; nevertheless, two samples (a winter issue and a summer issue) are provided in Fig. 4.3 for visual support.

The goal of magazine covers is to call attention. First, the cover is used to attract the reader-consumer's attention to the magazine in general, through its captivating visual-tactile experience (such as strong colors on a typically Cosmo-pink background and the shiny-silky glossiness of the paper). Secondly, it also serves to direct the reader-consumer's attention to the current edition, through highlighting the most alluring articles. The main tool to attract the eye is the human figure on display, which is typically an attractive female celebrity looking straight into the camera, thus, inviting the reader-consumer for interaction. Note that in the specific issues in my analysis each of the cover girls were non-Hungarian – Katy Perry, Ariana Grande, Jessica Alba, Scarlett Johansson, Shakira, Miley, Kate Hudson, Megan Fox, Jennifer Hudson, and Pink – signaling *Cosmo*'s global (rather than local) focus. Another way to involve the reader-consumer is the abundance of headlines with particular kinds of emphases like different colors, fonts, and sizes, which aim to offer exciting themes (and personal tips) for consumption. Even if the most dominant part of the cover is undoubtedly the human figure, all the text is printed on top of her, as an upper layer, for obvious reasons: content-wise it is essential for article titles to be legible. In fact, the only text which is partially covered by the figure is the title of the magazine, which has the largest font size and which can be made sense of easily anyway.

Besides the title there is another constant piece of text on the covers, which reads “Magyarország legolvasottabb női havi magazinja.” The statement that *Cosmopolitan* is Hungary's most widely read female monthly magazine seems to serve two functions. On the one hand, it aims to balance out the obvious global focus of the brand and give it some local feel. On the other hand, it functions to emphasize and maintain the prestige of the Cosmo club, which was the principal message of the previously analyzed brand description. Notice that there are a number of explicit notes about *Cosmo*'s positioning as a club, for example on the May 2017 cover where an interview is labeled as “a must-read for every Cosmo girl” (“Katy Perry – Az interjú, amit minden Cosmo-lánynak el kell olvasnia”), or on the June 2017 cover which advertises a specific material is available only for the Cosmo community (“Csak

a Cosmóban! Rubint Réka-DVD – 40 perc bikini tornával”). It is not only the overt references to the Cosmo club that serve to build community, but the pervasive personal style as well. In all issues the informal, friendly tone is apparent. For example in the January 2018 issue, the headlines abound in the informal second person singular: in verb endings (“Fogadod?” – Do *you* take this resolution?; “Ráérsz később megköszönni” – *You* can say thanks later) or in possessive pronouns (“A horoszkópod 2018-ra” – *Your* horoscope for 2018; “+10 oldal, hogy maximum a pasiddal essetek ágynak” – +10 pages, so only *you* only hit the bed with *your* guy). A number of headlines offer tips and advice (“64 sex facts before you go into a one-night-stand,” “17 small steps to start your new life,” “20 genial beauty tips,” “5 trendy goodies,” etc.), so the counseling position is obvious. The multimodal layout, neatly combining the verbal and the visual, aims to engage an active, interested, self-conscious woman, who prides herself on being part of the (Cosmo) community.

Now let us see if the headlines confirm what the positioning suggested as the main themes of *Cosmo*. Typically a cover displays 6 or 7 headlines, which are connected essentially to four main topics: beauty and appearance, sex, relationships, and the celebrity world. In addition, some of the issues include headlines which refer to current or seasonal topics, such as the vacation tips in the summer issues (July and August 2017), how to find a job in the fall issues (September and October 2017) or the New Year’s resolutions and horoscopes offered in the first issue of the year (January 2018). Note that they are always globally, not locally, relevant actualities. The distribution of the themes is fairly even throughout the issues: the first headline (going from the top right corner) is always about sex, then typically a beauty-related topic comes, after that a relationship advice, finally the celeb interview and other two beauty tips are placed. Note that the theme deemed by far the most enchanting is beauty, whose sub-topics are fashion (“get the coolest bikinis”), aging (“face prophecy – we are showing you how you will look in 10 years”), nutrition and losing weight (“spices that make you lose weight”), and menstruation (“what menstruation does to your face”). Each of the headlines describe the feminine body as a threat, as something that cannot be neglected otherwise it goes wrong; thus the Cosmo-girl needs to carefully and consciously prevent it from going bad or fix it.

Sex and relationships are the second most important themes, both conspicuously aligning to heteronormative gender roles. Most of the headlines are explicit about interpreting heterosexuality as the norm for women (“Where is that *boy*? 54 survival tips after a break-up,” or “Your *boyfriend*’s texts ... and what is behind them”). What is more, many times the

female reader is positioned as secondary within the (heterosexual) relationship, urging her to put herself aside and consider her male partner to be the reference point (“First. Night. With him. 36 bed tricks so you can impress *him*” or “How is the perfect engagement for *boys*?”). Since each of the magazine covers contain at least one overt reference which places the Cosmo-girl in the heterosexual world, Hungary’s most widely read monthly women’s magazine excludes LGBTQ+ identities from its definition of femininity. The pillars of *Cosmopolitan*’s woman as listed in the magazine’s positioning – beauty and fashion, heteronormative relationships, and sex – are confirmed by the examined covers, as the large majority of the headlines assume that the woman reader has a (male) partner and an even greater mass of the headlines supposes that she cares, even worries, about her looks (her body and fashion) and can afford to consume quality products and services.

Let us move on to the thorough examination of one of the issues. I chose the January 2018 issue, as it contained both the usual themes and some seasonal topics as well. Upon opening the magazine, we can bump into a theme-, not order-based, table of contents. On the first page, next to a full-page photo of a well-dressed woman and man, the two big titles are “Front page” and “Recent,” each having 6-7 entries. On the next page the six thematic pillars of the magazine are noted: “Shopping,” “Beauty,” “Hímnem” (Males), “Szex & szerelem” (Sex & love), “TeTeTe” (YouYouYou), and “Cosmo Body” (note that half of the topics are written in English despite Hungarian being the official language). Each theme has 6 articles on average, so based on the indicated table of contents the magazine’s content seems to be proportionately distributed among the key topics. Nevertheless, like it was pointed out before, most of the highlighted articles (displayed on the front page) of this issue fall into the “Sex & love” group, for one. For two, once we look at the real structure of the magazine, another significant imbalance will become evident.

When we move on from the table pages, we are struck by the fact that for about 50 pages there are no articles only promotional materials. About every second page is an explicit advertisement, while the rest are still centered on the promotion of a product (like a dress, an eyeliner, a cream, a film, etc.) but its presentation is embedded in a short, “article-looking” text. Practically, the first third of the magazine is promotion. Then, as a transition to the second part, the articles, from page 48 to page 53 the cover interview is placed. In fact, it is not a real interview but the question-answer presentation of (Cosmo-relevant) trivia about American singer-actress Jennifer Hudson, whose main identifier is that she is “friends with” Carrie Bradshaw, main character of *The Sex and The City*, an iconic Cosmo-series. Due to its

prominent length (5 pages), it prepares us for the article section of the magazine, but given that it is still mostly about (cultural or beauty) products, like what movies she likes or what side-dish she eats, the interview is a safe transition between the two sections.

The second part of the magazine, from page 55 to page 104, contains the (1-3-page-long) articles, focusing on three of the above listed primary themes: the interconnected “Males” and “Sex & love,” and the broader “YouYouYou,” which can include topics as diverse as career, nutrition, or New Year prophecies. Practically, this middle section is the part of the magazine which displays content to consume by reading, not by browsing. Interestingly, none of the articles have authors, at least they are not indicated in the article itself. Only the page dedicated to display the publishing information (confusingly on page 10, in-between different promotions) makes any mention of the contributors of this issue. Probably the idea behind this anonymity is to emphasize *Cosmopolitan*’s positioning as a community, rather than as (unconnected) individuals. After the verbal content, the last third of the magazine returns to displaying advertisements once again: the last 50 pages concentrate on “Shopping” and “Beauty.”

In sum, about 2/3 of the magazine constitutes promotions and only 1/3 is dedicated to articles. Consequently, even if the articles themselves focus on sex and romance the most, the whole of the magazine pushes fashion and beauty, that is, appearance, to the front too, as another primary way of “doing femininity.” Therefore, to decide what counts as a typical article, suitable for the detailed discourse analysis, I was looking for pieces that focus either on sex or appearance and are published on the front page. Since this specific issue (being the first one of 2018) concentrates on the New Year too, the article “Do you make this resolution? Sure! – 365 orgasms in the New Year” seemed like the best fit. Let us see the selected text in more detail.

The article is positioned roughly in the middle of the magazine, in the second (or textual content) section, within the “Sex & love” sub-section. The specific occasion of the article is the approaching New Year (the January issue is published in mid-December), when making resolutions is common. The writing is 4 pages long, of which the first one is a full-page photo of a man and a woman kissing in a lying position. The remaining three pages contain two other photos of the same couple in black underwear. The dominant colors are red and black, two usual shades connected to passion. Regarding the structure of the article, it is built on three resolutions (Ex. 1-3), each of which appears on a separate page, broken down

into sub-topics. Then, at the end of the article, a task sheet is added so the reader can keep track of her own “progress” (Ex. 4).

Excerpt 1:

*Ünnepélyesen fogadom, hogy kipróbálok új pózokat.*

“I solemnly resolve that I will try new poses.”

Excerpt 2:

*Ünnepélyesen fogadom, hogy nem hanygolom el az előjátékot.*

“I solemnly resolve that I will not neglect foreplay.”

Excerpt 3:

*Ünnepélyesen fogadom, hogy nem csak a hálószobában szexelek.*

“I solemnly resolve that I will not have sex only in the bedroom.”

Excerpt 4:

*Bakancslista, amitől beindulsz: 12 szextett 12 hónapra – pipáld ki, amit teljesítettek az év folyamán!*

“Bucket list that will turn you on: 12 sex acts for 12 months – check whichever you completed during the year.”

As for the style of the article, it uses the informal second person singular, in line with the intimate, friendly relationship *Cosmopolitan* defines its attitude by. Interestingly, the headers of the sections, that is, the resolutions, are written in first person singular (“I solemnly resolve...”), to make the intention firsthand, already “internalized.” The explanatory text that follows the resolution uses the second person singular and the first person plural, thereby blurring the boundary between “me,” “you,” and “us.” The underlying assumption is that we are all part of the Cosmo community.

So we can examine the message of the article, we need to explore the presuppositions of the text. Given that the article focuses on sex, more precisely on orgasm, most of its assumptions and inconsistencies regard sexuality, and, on related terms, gender roles. First of all, the starting point of the title is that sex is desired by everyone, and in equal amounts. The emphasis is placed on quantity (“365 orgasms”), not on quality, as if “many” equaled “good.” Another basic preconception is that sex (and orgasm) is between a man and a woman, in the course of penetration. In *Cosmopolitan*’s articles heteronormativity is pervasive, and however surprising it sounds (for such a seemingly woman-centered magazine) male-centric discourse is prevalent too. For example, to talk about sex and orgasm, it is frequent that the article uses the male sexual organ metonymically as the default, backgrounding female functioning (for



example, erection is used for [general] excitement, and ejaculation for [general] orgasm). In Ex. 5, *fireworks* is a metaphor of ejaculation, that is, male orgasm, which in turn stands for orgasm in general and more specifically for female orgasm (which is what the article is supposed to talk about).

Excerpt 5:

*Felejtsetd el az átlagos fogadalmakat, vannak sokkal vaditóbb ötleteink, amik garantálják a tűzijátékot az év minden napján.*

“Forget about the usual resolutions, we have wilder ideas which will guarantee fireworks every day of the year.”

Next to the generalization of male sexual functioning to sexual functioning (from which female sexual functioning can be derived), another interesting phenomenon is the foregrounding or backgrounding of a sexual organ. The penis is mentioned five times, while the vagina is referred to only once, despite the supposed female-focus of the article. Even if the text is meant to describe how its female reader can have an orgasm more frequently, very few of the tips listed in the article mention the female sexual organ, let alone the primary erogenous zone, the clitoris. The medically proven claim that women’s orgasms typically come from clitoral, not vaginal stimulation, is ignored, thus upholding the misbelief which is the primary reason why women generally have less orgasms than men. Suppression of facts or distraction are common traits of discourses (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 38).

Disguised as a guide about how to have better (or more) female orgasms, essentially the advice of the article concentrates on how to excite “your guy,” as if that was the way for the female reader to work on her own orgasm. Practically, all the resolutions focus on how to make sex more exciting, especially for the male (even if he is considered, according to the article, to be “always ready”). Even in the magazine of the “fun fearless female,” sex is about men; and orgasm (or the lack of it) is a matter of (his) excitement. Therefore, the present discourse sample claims the following about women (and sex): (1) they have sex with men, (2) they do not have sex (and/or orgasms) as often as men, (3) they want to have more orgasms, (4) they think that their own orgasm depends on the excitement of their male partner, thus (5) they believe that their part in sex is to get their male partner excited and all the rest, including the female’s own orgasm, will be taken care of by him. In short, the magazine’s discourse normalizes women’s (general and pervasive) dependence and passivity and reapplies it to the interactive context of sex and pleasure, instead of putting them in the position of (real) agency. Critically speaking, instead of advising women to learn how to pay

attention to and get to know their own bodies, to be the agents in their orgasm, and interact with their partner in a mutualistic relationship, the discourse directs them to attend to men's excitement only. Ironically enough, men are described as not needing much of that assistance, as they are supposed to be automatically and constantly yearning and ready to step up and penetrate a woman. And, if properly pampered (turned on) by her, they will reward her with an orgasm.

We have seen before that *Cosmopolitan* embraces progressive views, such as empowerment and authority for women. On the surface, this article was intended to fall into that category too, as it treats women as sexual subjects, not as sexual objects. Nevertheless, the deeper analysis revealed that the text clearly stayed within traditional power relations, framing sex to be primarily about men, and, consequently, women's role to be about pleasing them. Therefore, the empowerment *Cosmopolitan* claims to communicate and stand for is fairly limited and superficial.

### **Joy**

Let us move on to the analysis of the other leading women's magazine of Hungary, *Joy*. Marquard Media's top-selling brand, *Joy* has been in Hungary for 20 years. After being created in Germany in 1995, it was soon brought to Hungary and became one of the most widely read media for women. In fact, according to its brand description, 75% of women in a survey (which was not specified) named *Joy* to be the most preferred magazine, beating *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour* or *Nők Lapja* (all published by rival Central Média csoport).

Let us see how the magazine positions itself, what it says about its readers, and how it defines its role. The brand description (also available in Appendix 9) is much more verbose than *Cosmopolitan*'s, but also much less concentrated. The position of the magazine is similar to what *Cosmopolitan* communicates about itself, that is, posing as women's best friend ("loyal partner" and "personal counselor"), and as such being entitled to give friendly advice on what matters to a woman. The themes are the same too: fashion, beauty, relationships, celebrities, and pop culture. Yet, the selling points of the magazines are different. Like we saw before, *Cosmo* identifies itself through its readership, calling it a community, and highlights the prestige of reading the magazine because it means being part of that community. *Joy*, on the other hand, aims to win women as their readers with a different method. It describes itself more as a familiar and reliable source of information and entertainment; that is, through its up-to-date and joyful content offered for consumption.

The first paragraph of its brand description underlines the authority and tradition of the magazine, emphasizing its long presence and high popularity in Hungary, which is repeated in the ending section as well. The magazine “is always there where things are happening” and “informs its readers firsthand.” Its reliable reporting, as the description continues, regards “celebrity news,” “fashion trends,” and “beauty products.” Next to offering up-to-date information on “topics close to the readers’ heart,” which apparently are “typical feminine topics,” the magazine also aims to bring joy into the life of its readers (hence its name). In Ex. 6 and 7, the magazine appears as a cheerleader to its readers, thanks to the high concentration of words with an upbeat tone (adjectives like “positive,” “joyous,” and “bright,” along with the noun “smile”).

Excerpt 6:

*A Joy magazine minden egyes oldala igyekszik mosolyt csinálni az olvasók arcára pozitív hangvétellű, derűs írásaival, képanyagaival...*

“Every single page of Joy magazine aims to put a *smile* on its readers’ face with its positive, joyful writings, pictures...”

Excerpt 7:

*...és arra ösztönöz, hogy mindig az élet napos oldalát keressük.*

“...and it urges us to always look at the *bright* side of life.”

We can notice conflicting discourses in the brand description of *Joy*: on the one hand, the magazine aims to offer fun and lightness in its content (“embodying an inspiring, fun lifestyle”); on the other hand, it underlines its dedication to being serious. Wanting to pose as a reliable, up-to-date source of information, it addresses serious women who “are independent,” “work hard,” and “want to manage life on several fronts.” As a matter of fact, posing as a serious reporter of mostly celeb gossip and pop trends is already an internal contradiction.

The description is inconsistent in its use of pronouns as well. Sometimes the magazine is referred to in the third person singular as if it was a coach or a counselor (see Ex. 6-7), while sometimes it appears in the first person plural as if it was part of a community (“*Our* new motto is this.”). On the other hand, the readers are most often talked *about* in the third person plural (Ex. 6), but sometimes they are talked *to* in first person plural (Ex. 7). Therefore, who is included in the “us” varies throughout the text, while, as we recall, *Cosmopolitan*’s referencing was more rigorously standardized, thus clear and consistent, throughout its brand description.

Now let us see how this dual position manifests itself in the magazine. Once again, I looked at headlines covering a whole year, between May 2017 and April 2018. Appendix 10 contains an overview of each of the covers, but as visual samples two issues are displayed here, in Fig. 4.4, too. The concept of *Joy*'s covers is similar to *Cosmopolitan*'s. As a glossy magazine, *Joy*'s cover displays a charming photo of a female celebrity, again making eye contact, thus inviting the reader for interaction. Just like on the covers of *Cosmo*, the celebs of *Joy* belong overwhelmingly to American pop culture (Lily Collins, Shailene Woodley, Megan Fox, Amanda Seyfried, Nicole Scherzinger, Katy Perry, Ariana Grande, Dakota Johnson, and Eva Mendes), except for one cover girl, Barbi Palvin, who is still a global protagonist but at least Hungarian in origin. In other words, *Joy* also poses as an international brand, addressing an international (or at least Western) female audience; however, more attempts are made to localize its content than in *Cosmopolitan*.



(14) Figure 4.4. Two covers of *Joy*

Next to or around the central figure of the female idol, a good amount of headlines can be found, with different emphases like font type, size or color. *Joy* appears somewhat less extravagant than *Cosmo*, partly because it has less headlines (for example, the April 2018 issue has only 4 vs. *Cosmo*'s average of 6-7), and partly, because the emphases seem more subtle too (for example, in the January 2018 edition, almost all headlines are arranged to form a circle; as a consequence, its overall impression is more harmonious).

After the layout, let us take a look at the displayed themes. The headlines of *Joy* center on five main topics: beauty, celebrities, relationships, sex, and career. Contrary to *Cosmo*, the themes are much less regulated; that is, the specific issues address these topics unevenly. For example, sex was a topic in each and every issue of *Cosmopolitan*, in fact, it was the first headline on every cover. In *Joy*, however, this topic does not appear on each frontpage. In addition, women's relationships are not always specified as being heterosexual or even romantic: bonding with a pet or with a child (September 2017 and April 2018, respectively) are offered as options as well, unlike in *Cosmo*. While *Joy* is less obsessed with sex and boyfriends, that is, with heteronormativity, it highlights more articles connected to looks, fashion, and beauty than *Cosmopolitan* (in the July 2017 issue every single headline is related to appearance, specifically to hair styles and makeup, calorie tips and fat burning, bikinis and tans, and plastic surgery). Next to its obsession with beauty, *Joy* gives the celebrity world and pop culture a central role much more than *Cosmo*: essentially, each *Joy*-cover calls attention to 1-3 articles about pop singers, actresses, Hollywood movies or shows, and social media (primarily Instagram). Finally, *Joy* consistently displays headlines about a topic which does not appear on the covers of *Cosmopolitan*: it is the topic of career and money. Almost each issue highlights an article that addresses professional or financial matters: "32 tips to learn to manage your money," "Love & money: Finances in love, let us talk honestly," "Do you need a career? (Then do something about it.)," and "Eight hours of work, eight hours of relaxation" among others (in the issues of July 2017, October 2017, November 2017, and March 2018, respectively). In one of the issues, the new, discounted price of the magazine also hits the cover page, "The price of Joy is now only 295HUF" (August 2017), which signals that *Joy*'s readers are (considered to be) cost-sensitive, that is, they belong to lower income classes than *Cosmo*, whose price is much higher and money issues are seldom addressed.

As for the style, not unlike *Cosmopolitan*, *Joy* also addresses its readers in a highly informal way. The referencing is varied, though. Next to the usual addressing in the second person singular ("Spórold *magad* boldogra" – Save money to make *yourself* happy), the reader's perspective can fluctuate between the second person plural ("Melyik filmbeli szerelmespár vagytok?" – Which couple from the movies *are you two*?), where the reader is assumed to have a (heterosexual) relationship, and the first person plural ("Divatba jött a kedvenc sorozatunk" – *Our* series is trending), where the reader is supposed to be a member of the *Joy* community, sharing tastes and interests. As the headlines reveal, the presuppositions in *Joy*'s discourse are very similar to *Cosmopolitan*'s. According to the

magazine, women are interested in their appearance; they are willing to actively do about their looks; they consume popular culture; they consider celebrities as references; and they are – more typically than not – in heterosexual relationships.

Now let us turn to the structural analysis of the magazine. Like before, I am using the year-starting issue (January 2018). Compared to *Cosmopolitan*, *Joy*'s structure is much harder to see through. In the table of contents of *Cosmo*, the articles were organized around headers, that is, the main topics. In *Joy*, however, such headers do not exist; instead, the articles are ordered according to their page number. Next to the title of the article and the page number, each entry contains a 1-2-word categorization too, which is emphasized with bold fonts. The categories are sometimes transparent (like “coat mania” or “fashion show”), but sometimes not so much (“2 in 1” or “mix”); sometimes very broad (like “fashion” or “gentleman”), sometimes very specific (like “Nicholas Sparks” or “Prix de Beauté”). What is more, a given topic may appear several times in different parts of the list, either in the exact same way (like “beauty”), or as synonyms (“career” and “work”). As a consequence, the underlying arrangement of *Joy*'s articles is rather fuzzy.

If we organize the articles according to their themes (firstly, according to the labels indicated, or if it is not clear, then according to their titles), by far the largest group is beauty and fashion (with 15 entries), followed by runner-up pop culture and celebrities (6). Some other themes are health, lifestyle, relationship, and career. Examining the cover of the issue paints a different picture. Articles about pop culture and celebrities are the most numerous (4), while beauty (and the current topic, the New Year) has only one emphasized content.<sup>14</sup> The reason for this discrepancy between highlighted content and the table of contents is that a large amount of the entries (especially concerning beauty and fashion) are not articles but promotion, thus, not suitable for the cover.

As we saw in the analysis of *Cosmopolitan*'s structure, about 2/3 of the magazine is promotion, positioned at the beginning and at the end of the magazine, around the “textual content” in the middle. In *Joy*'s case, both the position and the amount are somewhat different. For one, the proportion of promotions to the articles is 76 pages to 66 pages, that is, roughly half of the magazine is actually text. For two, the advertisements are separated much less from the text; they do not have a clear and expectable place, unlike in *Cosmo*, but can “pop up” wherever. The first section (roughly 30 pages) is dedicated to promotional photos

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<sup>14</sup> One title can belong to both pop culture and relationships.

and “articles,” just like in *Cosmopolitan* (but there this section was almost double in length). After that, a short textual content block comes: approximately 15 pages dedicated to (1-4-page) celeb articles. The article about the cover girl opens this section, just like in *Cosmo*, which is followed by three interview-like articles, each with a man (two foreign and one Hungarian celebrities). After this lighter/entertaining content block, a long, almost 50-page promo section comes with some text in between (meaning: short articles related to the products advertised). The second, and main, textual content block constitutes the last 50 pages, where 2-4-page articles of varied topics are placed (with some promotion in the end).

In summary, advertisements and product placement are significant in *Joy* as well, but their amount aims to be in synch with textual content. As for the authorship of articles, *Joy* shows the same tendency as *Cosmo*. Interestingly enough, data concerning the stylist, the photographer, or beauty products are provided in the articles but not the writer(s). Not even on the publishing info page do authors (other than the editor-in-chief and the vice editor) appear. It might be so either in order to emphasize the unity and the community behind the magazine, just like with *Cosmo*, or because most of the articles are not original (which would not be a surprise given that it is an international brand; note, however, that not even clearly Hungarian topics, like the interview with *A Viszki* [*The Whiskey Bandit*] film star Bence Szalay, provide interviewer or author information).

The general overview of the chosen issue prepared the ground for the detailed text analysis. When picking a typical article, my chief concerns were that it should appear on the front page and it should match (one of) the main theme(s) of the magazine, which the above scrutiny defined as pop culture or beauty. I went with the article analyzing six Hollywood movies from the perspective of what they can teach us about relationships. I felt it typical because (1) it focuses on pop culture, which is central to *Joy*; (2) it addresses a serious question, yet in an easy-going manner, which is the dualism *Joy*’s brand description professes, and (3) because it is a counseling (how-to) article where the magazine’s positioning as “the informed, reliable friend” can be easily traced.

Let us start the analysis with the title. It appears three different places in the magazine: on the front page, in the contents, and in the article. Interestingly, every time it goes a bit or a lot different. In the article itself it says: “Szélesvásznú szerelem – Mit tanulhatsz kedvenc romantikus filmjeid álompárjaitól?” (Widescreen love – What can you learn from the dream couples of your favorite romantic movies?). This is the most verbose version; first the context is set: it is about movies and about relationship. Then the guidance position comes into the

picture, building on the assumption that the reader should use these ideal stories and the characters as models for her un-ideal life. As opposed to this, a shortened version appears on the front page: “Melyik filmbeli szerelmespár vagytok?” (Which movie couple are you two?). Not only is the title reduced (omitting the article title’s multiple references to the movie frame and to romance), but it is also enriched with a further presupposition: the change from the second person singular into plural assumes that the reader naturally has a partner. The table-of-contents version, displayed with red emphasis, goes like this: “Tanulj a kedvenc szerelmes filmjeidből!” (Learn from your favorite romantic films.). Due to the changed font color and the exclamation, the article communicates urgency, and even if it does not specify what the reader can learn (from these films), the added theme-category (“relationship”) leaves no doubts.

The article, positioning in the main textual content block of the magazine, that is, in the last third, spreads to three pages. After the main title, there is a short intro, which is followed by six pieces of advice, under which the movie title and the characters serving as inspirations are named, followed by a two-paragraph-long explanation. Each section displays visuals too, not surprisingly a photo of the movie couples. Apart from the six descriptions, there are two separate (but related) sections, each about a paragraph long. One introduces the psychological study which may have inspired this article, while the other one is a couple questionnaire which is unmistakably based on the above study. Just like in the selected *Cosmo* article, this section serves to involve the reader and create the impression that she is consuming personalized content.

Regarding the style of the article, it uses the same informal and intimate tone we have seen before. On the one hand, the text is rich in second person referencing (Ex. 8); on the other hand, the author’s position is the well informed and emphatic counselor throughout the text (Ex. 9). The reader can rely on the expert advice because she can feel the author lives and knows her world (Ex. 10).

Excerpt 8:

*Nem is gondolnád, hogy mennyire sok trükköt elleshetsz a filmes pároktól.*

“You wouldn’t believe how many tricks you can learn from movie couples.”

Excerpt 9:

*Még mielőtt elkezdenéd forgatni a szemed, bebizonyítjuk, hogy igenis lehet uncsi nebántsvirág és a százéves gimis vámpír lávsztorijából is tanulni.”*



“Before you start rolling your eyes, we will prove that you can indeed learn something from the love story of the boring touch-me-not and the hundred-year-old teenage vampire.”

Excerpt 10:

*Gyakran nézel te is valamilyen limonádét a pasiddal összébújva?*

“Do you *also* often watch some chick flick snuggling with your guy?”

The text builds on a number of assumptions. (1) The reader knows these films – the stories are not described sufficiently enough for someone who has not seen the films. (2) The reader likes these films – these six films are supposed to be “your favorite romantic films.” (3) The reader is in a relationship, with a man – for one, all the movie couples are heterosexual; for two, many references are made about “your boyfriend.” (4) The goal of the reader’s heterosexual relationship is marriage – the psychological study on which the article is based deals with the secret and success of married couples. (5) The reader needs advice for her relationship – these tips, and the respective stories and couples, are models and the recipes for successful relationships/future marriages.

Excerpt 11:

*...annál hamarabb rád talál a valódi szerelem.*

“...the sooner real love will find you.”

Excerpt 12:

*A szerelem nemcsak örök, tényleg képes minden akadály legyőzésére.*

“Love is not only eternal but it is also able to overcome all obstacles.”

Excerpt 13:

*A szeretet és az egymás iránti elkötelezettség átsegít a nehézségeken.*

“Love and dedication for each other help surmount difficulties.”

Now let us take a closer look at those six suggestions, in order to uncover what presuppositions the text has about love and relationships. From the tips (Ex 14-19) and the accompanying explanatory paragraphs (Ex. 11-13), it becomes clear that even if the article is supposed to talk about relationships, in reality it talks about love, even more specifically about “falling in love.” The text conflates relationships with the intense feeling falling in love entails, thus, misinterpreting and miscommunicating what “a relationship” (let alone a marriage) is about. Just like *Cosmo*’s text about female orgasms, *Joy*’s article operates well with suppression of facts and distraction too.

According to the article, love “finds you,” it “overcomes obstacles,” and it is “eternal,” that is, it seems to be an independent, active, animate, almost god-like entity which has its power over people and events. But “only if it is true.” If it is true love, you do *not* need to *do* anything like adjust or change (Ex. 14), because your male partner will accept you as you are. If he does not, he is not your true love. If he is your true love and it is meant to be, *he* will fight for you (Ex. 16). If it is not true love, he might fight for the relationship, but you had better *resist* so your true love can eventually come (Ex. 17). Either way, falling in love is such a sensational feeling that you should always *let it happen* to you. Even if you may lose him in the end (Ex. 15), or if he only wants to have sex with you at first (Ex. 18), or if you two are very different (Ex. 19), the experience itself will make up for all the rest. It is a typical trait in gendered discourses that women are offered to “consume” love and relationships, being their number one priorities which will fill them (Lazar, 2002: 112).

Excerpt 14:

*Ne változz meg más kedvéért!*

“Don’t change for someone else.”

Excerpt 15:

*Jobb szeretni és elveszteni*

“It is better to love and lose”

Excerpt 16:

*Megéri küzdeni a kapcsolatért*

“It is worth fighting for the relationship”

Excerpt 17:

*Néha jobb, ha vége van*

“Sometimes it is best to end it”

Excerpt 18:

*Nemcsak szerelem, barátság is*

“Not only love but friendship too”

Excerpt 19:

*Ellentétek vonzásában*

“In the attraction of opposites ”

What is strikingly clear in these examples is that the magazine’s discourse makes a very marked separation in gender roles. The main advice to the reader, that is, to the woman,

is to “expect and let in true love,” which is most likely identified as “an intense feeling.” Her task, therefore, is to *wait* for a larger-than-life emotion, which comes on its own, or it does not. At the same time, the man will have to *do the work* (mostly by “fighting for the relationship”), or else he will turn out to be not the one. In that case, she should *not* go into the relationship. Note that women are advised either to stay still (“wait”) or to not do something (“don’t change”), reinforcing the usual passivity that discourse connects to femininity (as we also saw in *Cosmopolitan*’s article about women’s orgasm, which is best achieved by expecting the guy to do it). Men, on the other hand, are described as obliged to fight for the relationship, in order to qualify as “true loves,” even if in reality it is most often “love” which is put in the agent role (Ex. 11-13).

Once again, in the discourse about activities where men and women are both involved, like sex or relationships, the active-passive roles are clearly marked. Women’s magazines, even if celebrating the postfeministic New Woman who is assertive and pursues her own goals, normalize passiveness and compliance for women, and proactiveness and responsibility for men.

#### **4.2.2.2. Men’s magazines**

In this section, I am providing a discourse analysis of Hungarian men’s lifestyle magazines, for which I am using *Men’s Health* and *Playboy* due to their popularity. Similarly to women’s magazines, first the brand descriptions, as displayed on the publisher Marquard Media’s website (and in Appendix 9), will be examined. Then the covers of issues encompassing a year are studied for each magazine (see Appendix 10). After that a selected issue is put under closer scrutiny, and finally a typical article is selected and analyzed qualitatively.

##### ***Men’s Health***

*Men’s Health* magazine is the world largest men’s magazine brand, published in about 60 countries in the world. It came to Hungary in the early 2000s, back then operating only for a couple of years, but in 2012 Marquard Media brought it back and made it into one of Hungary’s leading men’s magazines. Originally focusing on health, its scope has broadened significantly by now. Since it covers topics like fitness, nutrition, sex, style, and culture, it can be well considered a lifestyle magazine. As a matter of fact, it is a very similar lifestyle magazine to women’s, for one, most of its Hungarian crew (editors and contributors) are female and, for two, we will see that its style and structure show an uncanny resemblance to *Joy* and *Cosmopolitan* (or even more to female fitness magazines like *Shape* or *Wellness*).

If we look at its brand description, we find very familiar terms regarding what the magazine offers to its readers, “tips” and “advice” about healthy living and “solutions” to everyday problems. What is new, however, is the authority it claims, thus its very positioning. Through its conversational style, women’s magazines pose as the intimate friends of their readers who they can and will trust due to their emotional bond. Instead of an appeal to emotions, *Men’s Health* builds trust and authority with an appeal to reason. The magazine combines formal terminology with the usual conversational lexicon, which lends itself an expert position.

Excerpt 20:

*A Men’s Health szakmaiságát garantáló tanácsadók, illetve világméretű adatbázis lehetőséget ad arra, hogy szinte bármilyen témában bemutassuk a legfrissebb kutatási eredményeket.*

“The experts that guarantee the professionalism of Men’s Health, along with the worldwide database, enable us to present the most recent research results in almost any topic.”

Notice technical words like *professionalism*, *database*, and *research* in Ex. 20. The magazine’s arguments strive to appear as rational, so they are centered on science and technology. The above quoted sentence goes on into specifying what topics might come up in the magazine and ends up listing “bank card usage tendencies” and “nanorobots” among others. Clearly, the magazine wishes to emphasize its seriousness and professionalism, in opposition to the typically light content and tone of women’s magazines. Even when the description defines its reader, intellectual traits are visibly foregrounded: he most likely “has a university degree,” he is “conscious,” he “constantly broadens his knowledge,” and he “has serious goals in life.” The contradiction that a men’s magazine needs to solve is how to maintain the positive image of its reader as a masculine, thus, “balanced” and “determined,” man, while suggesting that he should read a lifestyle magazine and take somebody’s advice. This inconsistency is clearly noticeable in the brand description of *Men’s Health*. In Ex. 21 the magazine claims that its readers are self-reliant and independent, which creates an internal contradiction, given that by reading the magazine they by definition rely on an external source, the magazine’s advice. So the description goes on trying to compensate for this by emphasizing that they still have an *active* role, even if they are practically provided with the solutions (Ex. 22).

Excerpt 21:

*Olvasóink határozott személyiségek, akik a maguk útját járják és szeretik kialakítani a saját álláspontjukat egy-egy kérdésben...*

“Our readers are determined personalities who walk their own path and like to form their own opinion in an issue...”

Excerpt 22:

*...A lap biztosítja számukra a megoldásokat, így nekik csak annyit kell eldönteniük, hogy mindezt használják-e.*

“...Our magazine provides them with the solutions, so all they have to do is decide whether they use them.”

Let us see how this conflicting image of masculinity appears in the magazine, on the covers between September 2017 and August 2018 (in Fig. 4.5 two covers are displayed as samples, while the full list is in the Appendix).



(15) Figure 4.5: Two covers of *Men's Health*

Starting with the covers, it is evident that they are essentially like glossy women's magazines: five to eight headlines are displayed on each cover, applying a variety of emphasis techniques. Just like women's magazines, a large photo of a male celebrity (usually of athletic background) occupies the middle section of the magazine. Not unlike women's magazines, *Men's Health* focuses on international, not Hungarian, celebrities: Lewis Hamilton, Chris Hemsworth, Mark Wahlberg, Robert Lewandowski, Dwayne Johnson, and James Marsden appear on the covers. Even if no Hungarian athlete was deemed worthy enough to sell an issue, it is fair to notice though that out of six issues two portray a European sportsman

(Hamilton and Lewandowski). In other words, the magazine makes some attempts to localize, or at least regionalize, its content.

Comparing with the cover girls on women's lifestyle magazines, the figures of *Men's Health* have very different body language: men in cover photos are typically not smiling unlike female celebrities; in fact, crossed arms are not atypical for men. This signals that a more closed and less affectionate attitude is normalized for masculine idols, as opposed to attractiveness and friendliness for feminine models. The dark colors and simple clothing, along with an accentuated muscular physique, serve to emphasize a divergence from women (and women's magazines). It is also worth noting that the (Hungarian) motto of the magazine is present on every issue, saying "Rajtad múlik," that is, "It's up to you." Agency and control are stressed, both verbally and visually, to compensate for a man's very consumption of the magazine, otherwise his masculinity would be contested according to the discursive definitions.

The analysis of the headlines reveals a great deal of similarity in style and focus with women's (primarily fitness) magazines. On the one hand, the informal style and the imperative tone ("Maintain your shape," or "Learn to build muscle") are very familiar already. The concern with the body, that is, the appearance was a popular theme in women's magazines, and it is so for *Men's Health* as well: most of the headlines focus on workout, health, and nutrition, all of which are aimed at gaining a "strong, fast and fit body" (from the cover of September 2017). At the same time, the magazine consciously tries to distinguish itself from the familiar trends, because those are "feminine," thus essentially un-masculine. The differentiation is achieved through the obsessive reiteration of muscle building (Ex. 22), thus, the emphasis on the notions of strength, toughness, discipline, and of course masculinity (Ex. 23). Listing technical and scientific terms (Ex. 24), instead of appealing to emotions as a means of convincing, is another method of underlining the difference between "the male and the female mind."

Excerpt 22:

*The Rock – Így építs sziklakemény izmokat*

"The Rock – This is how you can build rock-hard muscles"

Excerpt 23:

*Férfias vacsorák – Készíts mikróban ételt*

"Manly dinners – Prepare meals in the microwave"

Excerpt 24:

*DNS kódfejtés – Hogyan támogatja a technológia az egészséged*

“DNA decoding – How technology supports your health”

As previously mentioned, women’s body control is typically linked to dieting (*not* eating or eating *less*), aiming to lose weight, mainly fat. Women are expected to be thin; men, however, are urged to gain weight, and to do that being *active* and doing exercise is the right thing. Note that lately the concern for thinning has appeared for men too; in the form of fat *burning* (still in active voice). Some of the issues make references to men wanting to “activate the fat-burning genes.” Interestingly, the order of priorities in the headline of the May 2018 issue, “2-minute tricks for losing weight, for strengthening, or against stress,” puts fat-burning as number one.

Apart from body building, only two other themes appear on the covers of *Men’s Health*, exposing that masculinity might have other – less important – pillars as well. As one of these two extra topics that pop up occasionally on the covers, lifestyle headlines appear in roughly half of the issues, in the form of fashion and career tips. The other topic is the issue of relationships and sex. Besides addressing “special” cases like polyamory and infidelity in a not explicitly heteronormative way (in the March 2018 and May 2018 issues, respectively), the magazine is clear to label “the more everyday” matter, that of sex, to be heterosexual (November 2017). What is more, it emphasizes that people experience sex and orgasm differently based on their gender: “Sex lab: Experimental orgasm: Female pleasure vs male climax.” Men, consequently, are viewed as heterosexual, and different from women not just in their bodies but also in their pleasure.

For the more detailed analysis, let us take a closer look at the May 2018 issue, which seems to display the usual themes: workout, health, nutrition, celebrities, and even one of the extra topics, relationships. Once we open the magazine, the table of contents spreads to two pages. The first one displays the highlighted content, which in this case means two articles, an interview with Hungarian hockey goalie, Dávid Duschek, and a guest author’s essay about work crises. The largest part of the page is taken up by a photo of what appears to be a hockey goalie’s gear, assembled in a way to imitate and metonymically refer to the goalie himself who is usually underneath the outfit. The next page lists (some) of the other articles, organized not according to page numbers but according to themes: “strength,” “nutrition,” “adventure,” “losing weight,” and “style.” Two additional “special topics” are mentioned:

“infidelity” and “placebo.” The page contains more pictures than text; only a portion of the effective content is actually listed. What is more, the titles that do get displayed are often not identical with the actual title as it appears in the article. In other words, the table of contents serves more as an appetizer not as the menu, that is, it is far from being a comprehensive list of what is offered for consumption.

The actual structure of the magazine can be broken down into four sections. Like commercial magazines, the first pages of *Men's Health* are dedicated to promotional materials, which, in this magazine, mean short training plans with a lot of pictures and massive product placement. This 7-page section, titled as “practical stuff,” serves as a warm-up for the next, longer, section, whose function is still to provide practical content, but now the articles are longer and divided into three topics. First comes “strength,” as indicated in the table of contents, then “food” follows (which was “nutrition” in the table of contents), and finally “style”-related articles close the approximately 20-page-long section. A short promo part, now specifically about cars, leads to the main content (of about 60 pages), where articles follow each other in a seemingly random way, separated with occasional full-page ads. As always, the magazine closes with a (short) promotional section. The organization of the magazine is very similar to *Joy's*; themes and sections are less pronouncedly separated. However, *Men's Health* contains much less direct advertising (roughly 20 pages) than both *Joy* and *Cosmo*, and later we will see even less than *Playboy*. The reason might lie in the nature of the magazine's subject matter: the content of the articles contains a significant amount of product placement, so indirectly *Men's Health* advertises a lot too.

Previously we saw that women's magazines refrain from revealing the author information of their articles. This is not the case with men's magazines. In *Men's Health* we can notice that every article that is not promotional has an author indicated, often with his (or her) job title or expertise. For example, a training-plan article (“Köszöntsd az új tested” - Welcome your new body) on page 22 announces that its author is “Mark Barroso, certified personal trainer.” Authorship and authority, as we already saw in the communicative style of the magazine, are believed to matter for men (and not for women).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The fact that the writer is always disclosed enables us to keep track of the origin of the articles. Out of the roughly 90 pages of content (not counting the promo), only 16 pages qualify as original material, written by the Hungarian team. All the rest, approximately 80 pages, is translated content, which very often keeps much of the (American) social-cultural references revealing that it was not written for a Hungarian audience.



After the general overview of the issue, we can turn to the detailed text analysis. When deciding what to select for the examination, I was considering the following factors. For the article to count as typical, firstly, it had to be a translated material, given that the large majority of the texts are not from Hungarian authors. Secondly, regarding the type of the article, since most of the pieces are written not in an essay-style but more like a compilation, that had to be followed too. Thirdly, like before, it had to be highlighted on the cover and it had to address one of the main themes of the magazine, which is the masculine body. All the above taken into account, I narrowed it down to two pieces (“Activate the fat burning genes – 25 tips” and “2-minute tricks for losing weight, for strengthening, against stress”). Given that the former got much more emphasis (both on the cover and in the table of contents), I went with that one.

To begin with, the title is handled with a similar looseness like what we saw in *Joy*’s case. In all three places it appears (headline, contents, title), it is articulated somewhat differently to adjust to the peculiarities of the given location (like how much space is available, how important it is to emphasize urgency, and so on.). While it is an understandable approach, it can also lead to confusion, especially because on the cover 25 tips are promised but in the article and its title we will only find 24 (“24 tips to activate the fat-burning genes”). Moving on to the general characteristics of the article, we can notice that it is a longer piece (of 6 pages), but it is mainly due to the large photos. It is located roughly in the middle of the magazine, right after the cover interview; that is, it appears to be a highlighted article on several levels.

The first two pages of the article present us with a fine example of multimodal meaning making. The biggest part of these initial pages is taken up by a large, symbolic picture built on a visual metaphor. The image illustrates a model brain which, metaphorically, functions as a toolbox, holding several kinds of tools like a hammer, a screwdriver, a tape-measure, and so on, next to some weights and alimentary products. We can see a climbing shoe and a glass of red wine next to the brain/toolbox too. It is apparent that the similarly large title, covering half of the first page, needs to be supported or compensated for visually, as fat-burning, which this article is about, is normalized as a primarily female issue. A chain of metonymical correlations do the work. The brain, standing for rationality, the tools, standing for manual handiness, and the weights, standing for strength, are all obvious symbols and connoters of traditional masculinity. In addition to this, the primary but controversial topic of the article, fat or being overweight, is completely hidden from the visual

representation, which distracts attention from the sensitive issues. Images can be used to background certain parts of the verbal message, while highlighting others.

Next to the disproportionate title and picture, a short summary/teaser is included on the first page. The message of this intro, and consequently of the article, is that losing weight is hard, so here are some tips to “cheat” and “deceive mother nature.” On the following four pages, we will find the 24 tips; each starts with a couple-word-long advice in bold, then the short title is explained in a paragraph. Every tip is built on and quotes a scientific research or makes a reference to a professional paper or institution (“according to Chronobiology magazine,” “as suggested by the Frontiers in Psychiatry journal,” “according to the animal experiments of the Paris Descartes University”). That is, even if the article gives advice, and does it in the same informal way as we saw in women’s magazine, it aims to convince through appealing to scientific authority and expertise (Ex. 25).

Excerpt 25:

*Még mindig tartod az újévi diétádat? Szerintünk hagyd abba. A Tasmania Egyetem kutatói szerint a “2 hét on, 2 hét off” protokollt érdemes folytatni.*

“Are you still on your new year’s diet? In our opinion you should stop. According to the researchers of Tasmania University, it is worth following the “2 weeks on, 2 weeks off” protocol.”

The basic assumption of the article is that fat is bad and losing weight is good. Even if burning fat is necessary, it is challenging. Typically men workout or diet, in order to lose weight, but that takes a lot of effort, persistence, and discipline, which is hard for many. There are alternative ways to burn fat, though. The article keeps labelling this way “cheating” (Ex. 26-27), which either reveals the assumption that the “traditional ways,” like tough workout and heavy sweating, are still considered the right (or masculine) way, or it might be a rhetorical method to induce excitement. Probably both are at play, but either way the negative connotations of “failing to go the hard way” are often downplayed by resorting to scientific evidence (Ex. 28).

Excerpt 26:

*04: Iktass be csalonapokat!*

“04: Schedule cheat days.”

Excerpt 27:

*12: Csalj tengeri herkentyűkkel!*

“12: Cheat with seafood.”

Excerpt 28:

*21: Legyél edzettebb! – Megint félbehagytad a tréningprogramod? Fogd anyura és apura: az amszterdami UV Egyetem kutatása szerint a sportolás szeretete részben genetikus.*

“21: Be more sporty. – Did you quit your training program again? Blame it on mommy and daddy: according to the research of UV University in Amsterdam, the love for sports is partly genetic.”

It is easy to notice that the text paints a conflicting picture of masculinity. On the one hand, it reinforces traditional values like strength, will-power, and determination as natural features of masculinity; on the other hand, it admits that men are not machines, thus, they are bound to fail these expectations. Therefore, when describing ways to lose weight, it shifts attention from the body (like heavy workout) to the mind (hence the initial photo), by offering scientific evidence and promising alternative routes. Nevertheless, this research-based reasoning is still portrayed as giving “excuses” for the man “to cheat” in what he is supposed to do or be. In other words, men’s magazines like *Men’s Health* do attempt to address the “new man” who does not have to be as tough as nails but the traditional discourse, normalizing an active, strong, reliable, and rational man, still prevails.

### ***Playboy***

The history of *Playboy* dates back to the 1950s when Hugh Hefner founded the magazine under the title *Stag Party*, then for a US audience. In the last 60 years, it expanded into an enterprise, whose brand today is one of the most well-known brands in the world. Hefner’s idea was to create a unique men’s lifestyle magazine, which is built on (half-)nude photos of women, along with high-quality literature (of, for example, Ernest Hemingway or Vladimir Nabokov) and exclusive interviews (with Martin Luther King or Miles Davis among others).

*Playboy* has been present in Hungary for almost 30 years as one of the few men’s magazines that managed to survive in the country. While obviously following the main guidelines of the international brand, the Hungarian *Playboy* published by Marquard Media is loud and proud to distinguish itself from the American edition (see Appendix 9). The brand description is quick to stress how the magazine is different, for one, from women’s magazines, and for two, from the original brand. It pins down right at the start that *Playboy* is “masculine entertainment.” Then, after explicating what that really means (“quality entertainment”), it points out as early as in the second sentence that the Hungarian edition is not only about entertainment but it has been putting a huge emphasis on “*readable* content, *thought-provoking* publications, especially *profound* interviews, and *high-quality*, unique

visuals” as well. Note the multitude of adjectives which are aimed at positioning *Playboy* as a magazine with highly intellectual and serious (*thus* masculine) content.

Excerpt 29:

*...teret adunk azoknak a 21. századi férfiaknak, akiknek a hedonizmus mellett fontos az is, hogy szűkebb és tágabb környezetük minél jobbá tegyék – és hogy ők is értékes nyomot hagyjanak a világban.*

“...we give space to 21<sup>st</sup> century men who, besides hedonism, find it also important to make their narrower or wider environment better – and to leave a valuable mark in the world.”

Ex. 29 exposes the intention to change the traditional, sex-centered, view of *Playboy*. Enjoying life (and women’s bodies) is still present, even if implicitly it receives negative connotations (“hedonism”); next to it, however, an explicit urge to create value and take responsibility for the world appears in the magazine’s positioning. “Make yourself a better man” is the new motto of *Playboy*, which, as Marquard Media’s description boasts, has been a guideline for the Hungarian edition for several years. In other words, a change, or at least contested discourses are discernible in this text about masculinities. Let us see how this manifests itself in the magazine. Like before, I am examining the covers of issues for a whole year (from November 2017 to October 2018). The full list is displayed in the Appendix but two covers are featured in Fig. 4.6 for visual comparison.



(16) Figure 4.6: Two covers of *Playboy*

Looking at the covers of *Playboy*, we can immediately notice that this magazine is significantly dissimilar from the previous magazines we saw. On the one hand, the cover photos communicate an unambiguous (hetero)sexual invitation by the models' facial expression, pose, and (lack of) clothing, which is missing from the other magazines. The covers are true to *Playboy*'s reputation of openly promoting heteronormativity and traditional gender roles, by offering scantily clad women for the consumption and entertainment of men. Each of the issues except for one (the special issue of November 2017, when Playboy founder Hugh Hefner passed away) flashes a female nude on its front page. The other feature that sets *Playboy* apart, is that the intimate, counselling tone we have noticed in all other magazine covers is nowhere to be found. *Playboy*'s readers are rarely addressed to follow any advice; instead, they are offered to "read news." As a matter of fact, out of the roughly 60 headlines on the ten covers only three contain personal referencing, two in informal and one in formal tone ("Élvezd, hogy hős vagy!" [Enjoy being a hero – informal conjugation] and "Nézz a jövőbe!" [Look into the future. – informal conjugation] vs. "Szakítsd nagyot!" [Make a big profit. – formal conjugation]). All the rest of the headlines simply and succinctly list the content, like "Range Rover Velar: Conservative hyper space jump," "Football hooligans: Queen's Park & Ferencváros," "David Guetta about music," or "Grand interview: Péter Scherer."

The themes that appear on the cover are much more varied than in any of the magazines from before, ranging now from culture and entertainment, through technology and cars, to sports and business. The distribution of the topics is fairly even, just like in *Cosmopolitan*, but it is not so much due to the pressure of being a global brand. We will notice that *Playboy* is the magazine that includes the most local content out of the four magazines in the analysis. Typically, each cover contains 5 to 7 headlines, out of which two are related to culture, mainly music ("Grand interview: László Lukács – the Lead singer of Tankcsapda has turned 50"), one to technology ("Tesla in space – Falcon Heavy in close-up"), one to cars (BMW i8 Roadster, the sportscar of the summer"), and one to women ("Olga de Mar, the cruising beauty"). Some of the issues include headlines connected to sports ("Tour de France, the bicycle top race" or "The stars of the hockey world cup"), but this appears to be seasonal. Even if it is rarely made explicit verbally (except in the October 2018 issue: "The short history of porn"), sex is also present. Of course, the eroticized cover photo makes it obvious that one of the pillars of *Playboy*'s masculinity is sex and the objectification of women. Note that several of the women who undress on the pages of the magazine are not

even paid tribute to by their full names (Sandra; Megan, the American beauty; or Bella, the red demon), which is not the case with any of the men mentioned on the front page (Balázs Csapody, Szabi Papp, or Csaba Magyarósi). What matters about women is only their bodies, which are fully disclosed, so there is no need to specify their names. However, with men it is their personality and their achievements that count, not their bodies, which can remain in the background, but not their names.

To sum up the results of the examination of magazine covers, we can confirm that the duality of carefree entertainment and responsible public matters as pillars of masculinity, which was exposed in the brand description, is unmistakably detectable on the covers of the magazine too. To see what is inside the magazine, we will look at one of the issues (of May 2018, just like *Men's Health*) in more detail.

The magazine starts with the editor-in-chief's brief welcome, which reflects on the main theme of the current issue, *future*. The short intro calls attention to one of the articles, the "grand interview" with Péter Balogh, a successful IT entrepreneur and mentor, who is illustrated as the very embodiment of the theme, the epitome of what *Playboy* believes to be the (good) future. On the next page, the table of contents appears; the grand interview is again accentuated with the biggest picture. The structure of the contents roughly follows the actual structure of the magazine (regarding the order of the articles), but really what makes it easy to see through is that it is organized around keywords, which indicate the type of the content, not its more specific topic. The first type is called "Café," which includes short articles on various topics like entertainment, books, cars, and gastronomy. This section functions as the usual promotional start of glossy magazines: there are a good number of short, colorful articles, advertisements, and pictures, but only little text. After the 20-page warm-up, the lengthier, more serious content can come. This part starts with the "Interview" section, which contains the above mentioned "grand interview" with Péter Balogh and a shorter, 20-question interview with Vivien Mádai, Playboy Muse of 2018. To get a break from the serious theme, then comes the pictorial section called "Erotica," which refers to the pages dedicated to the nude photos of the Playmates. This part is positioned strategically in the middle of the magazine, with a fold-out centerfold, so that the magazine can open here on its own. Then, the magazine returns to the textual content with "Report" and "Instructional stories," which include longer articles, literary or journalistic, about diverse issues like the future, football, adventures, and so on. Finally, the magazine closes with the "Cool" section, which is essentially promotion again, about themes like technology, cars, or fashion.

All in all, as the magazine's structure makes it clear, it has three pillars of content: promotion, articles, and erotic pictures. Promotion takes up the largest part with 42 pages, which is a lot more than in the case of *Men's Health* (but less than with women's magazines). Then comes the textual content with 39 pages, and the pictorial with 24 pages. Although erotic photos are the smallest section of the three, as a single topic it is still sex that has the most space in the magazine. As for the articles, they all have individual authors whose names are indicated at the beginning of the given article, whether they are original or translated. When looking at the proportion of local and global content, *Playboy* fares much better than *Men's Health*: most of the articles are indeed written by the Hungarian editorial team, about issues that their (Hungarian) audience can really identify with. It is apparent that *Playboy* puts much more emphasis on quality than any of the above magazines.

While sex is the most dominant topic for the entirety of the magazine, textually it is practically absent. The articles hardly ever mention erotica; their function is exactly to take the reader (and the magazine) away from this focus and bring in the image of the "intellectual, responsible, proactive man." The articles, therefore, address cultural or public issues predominantly, in a serious and analytic tone. Since the current issue was dedicated to the theme of the future, and in that context the grand interview with Péter Balogh was foregrounded on every possible occasion (on the front page, in the editor's welcome, and in the table of contents), this article was an uncomplicated choice for the detailed discourse analysis of the magazine.

When we look for the article within the issue, we are bound to realize that the editors really wanted to make sure it would be read, or at least skimmed through, by their male readers. Not only are there all those references in the initial part of the magazine I mentioned before, the position of the article gives another push to take a look at it: the grand interview is sandwiched between the two main erotic photo series, just a couple of pages away from the centerfold. The title of the article says: "Péter Balogh – Mr Future," which turns him not only into a person of the future, thus having the authority to be asked about the future, but this title also underlines *Playboy*'s assessment of him as a male role model, which explains the relevance of the article. The short intro on the first pages of the interview explains why he is a "good man." He is described as an acknowledged, rich, and satisfied person, somebody who gives back to and creates value for society; that is, Balogh is both a successful and a responsible member of the society. He is worth listening to, not only about what the future brings, but also about how to be a good man in it. Even if the interview was aimed at

exploring the technological aspect of the future (he is an IT person), implicitly we can also notice the path-finding and identity-searching narrative of the postmodern man. Remember the motto of the new *Playboy*, as quoted in the brand description: “Make yourself a better man.”

For the easier consumability of the message, only half of the 8-page-long article constitute text. The rest of the space is dedicated to a photo shoot about Balogh dressed as an astronaut in a warehouse. The pictures are used for a double reason: partly for accentuating and partly for trivializing the textual message. On the one hand, the spacesuit metonymically stands for space travel, and that for the future, underlining visually too that Balogh is the embodiment of the future, thus, an expert of it. On the other hand, the specific scenes are more ironic than serious: in one scene astronaut Balogh is “trying to” eat grapes through his helmet, while in another he is napping with an open mouth, both of which connote dullness.<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact, it is a usual tendency in men’s magazines to employ humor and irony, for the purpose of creating emotional distance (Gauntlett, 2008: 176). We can observe a similar tendency in the style of the article as well. Contrary to the other magazines, the informal, most often emotional, and direct audience engagement is completely missing here. Even if the interviewer and the interviewee address each other in an informal tone, the discussion remains professional, not private. Interestingly enough, for the 2/3 of the article, Balogh does not receive any personal questions. The interview starts and dominantly deals with serious, objective questions, such as technology, work, and politics, and only in the end does it get personal where he gets to talk a little bit about his (still professional) story, such as career or prospects. There is, thus, an obvious distance and officialness throughout the text, because he needs to appear first and foremost as an expert who is *respected* for his professional opinion, not as a man who is *appreciated* or let alone *admired* for his personality. As we saw, an appeal to emotions is typically for women’s magazines, thus, typical of femininity, so men’s magazines need to stay away from that.

The main assumptions of the article concern the future and man’s place in it, on the one hand, and Péter Balogh, on the other hand. As for the future, it is considered to be uncertain which needs to be explored and prepared for in order to be successful in it (Ex 30). To do so, technology is the key (Ex. 31).

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<sup>16</sup> Of course, another ironic aspect of the photo shooting is that it is for *Playboy* where people (at least women) tend to lose their clothes, not put on more.



Excerpt 30:

*Playboy: Balogh Péterrel rögtön elkezdhetjük feltérképezni a bizonytalan jövőt.*

“Playboy: With Péter Balogh we can at once start exploring the uncertain future.”

Excerpt 31:

*Playboy: Akkor mire tanítsam a gyerekeket?*

*Balogh: ... tán a legfontosabb, hogy a gyermekeink már egészen biztosan még a jelenleginél is sokkal techőbb világban nőnek fel.*

“Playboy: Then what should I teach my child?”

Balogh: ...perhaps the most important is that our children will definitely grow up in an even more tech world than nowadays.”

Due to the (alleged) fundamental role of technology in our future, the most competent person to guide us through this journey is someone involved in informatics. So, another assumption is that software developer/IT mentor Péter Balogh is a reliable source, an expert in predicting future trends, even if it has to do with complex matters like politics, economics, the labor market, or society. Throughout the interview his observations on a wide range of topics like education or world politics are uncontested and accepted as expert opinion. His expertise, as it is assumed several times, is largely based on the appreciation for his achievements, which made him famous and wealthy (Ex. 32). Interestingly, the final third of the interview, which deals with Balogh’s life (although strictly professionally, not personally or relationship-wise), is concerned with one question: Why did he leave the company which made him successful and rich? The insistence of the interviewer on this issue (Ex. 33-35) reveals that this step does not fit the regular discourse about masculine happiness. *Playboy’s* man is successful once he reaches his professional high, which involves recognition, power, and prosperity; and such success is what makes him content. Balogh’s case goes against this narrative (given that he abandoned what is supposed to be the source of masculine contentment), so the interviewer tries to explain this with a personal *crisis* or unknown *forces* to maintain the masculine success narrative.

Excerpt 32

*Playboy: És most végre rólad, látszólag sikeres emberről beszélgetve: többedmagaddal elindítottál egy olyan céget, amely aztán világhírű lett, az NNG-t, és ott egy jókora vagyona tétél szert.*

“Playboy: Now finally about you, talking about a seemingly successful person: you launched a company, NNG, which has become *world-famous*, earning quite a big wealth there.”

Excerpt 33

*Playboy: Aztán kiugrottál az akkor már ezerfős világhírű NNG vezérigazgatói székéről.*

“Playboy: Then you jumped out of the CEO chair of the already 1000-member, *world-famous* NNG.”

Excerpt 34:

*Playboy: Akkor ez egy életközépi válság is volt?*

“Playboy: Then it was a sort of *mid-life crisis* too, right?”

Excerpt 35:

*Playboy: Olyan, mintha egy láthatatlan erő mozgatna [téged].*

“Playboy: It seems as if some *invisible force* was moving you.”

Excerpt 36:

*Balogh: Életcélom? Hatással lenni. Ha összességében a világ jobb helyé vált azáltal, hogy én benne voltam, akkor valószínűleg nem voltam hiába.*

“Balogh: My life goal? To make an impact. If altogether the world becomes a better place because I was in it, probably it was not a waste.”

In the end, the narrative reaches a comfortable end, underlining once again that *Playboy*’s man (should) aim to “build,” “make a difference,” and “make an impact,” just like Péter Balogh (Ex. 36). In this world, that is, in the public world, women are absent, or only the invisible mothers of men’s children. The contrast between the femininities described by the textual content and by the pictorial is striking. So are masculinities: on the one hand, there is the urge to *educate* responsible, serious world-changers out of men; on the other hand, the instinctive, carefree womanizer is still the most dominant male ideal assumed and reproduced by most pages of *Playboy*.

### 4.3. Closing remarks

The present chapter aimed to reveal how gender is construed in media discourse generally and in magazine discourse specifically. To expose how discourse shapes gender in Hungarian, I analyzed four lifestyle magazines. While not assuming readers to be uncritical and open to identifying with everything a magazine writes, the goal of the chapter was to explore what narratives lifestyle magazines offer to their readers about femininity and masculinity.

*Cosmopolitan* and *Joy*, the two most popular monthly magazines in Hungary were selected as women’s magazines, whereas for men’s lifestyle magazines I chose *Playboy* and

*Men's Health*, the two biggest brands worldwide.<sup>17</sup> I looked at the brand descriptions or positioning of the magazines, trying to identify their dominant discourse about how they see women and men, and what role they claim to play in the lives of these women and men. After uncovering the pillars of their gender construal, I aimed to examine some of their texts. First, I looked at the covers of each magazine, then, I selected an issue and a typical article, which were analyzed in detail.

In the end it can be concluded that the discourses of women's magazines (*Joy* and *Cosmo*) are very similar to each other, both in their assumptions about women and their own role in women's life; but they are very different from those of men's magazines. According to the former magazines, the primary ways of doing femininity is to care about one's appearance (fashion, body, nutrition), which does not come as a surprise as the Hungarian corpus revealed the same (see Chapter 3). What is a somewhat new (or genre-specific) segment of the feminine character is that, according to the magazines, women are fine about getting and following advice even simply based on an (alleged) emotional bond; superficial content is enough, as no serious topics suit the feminine world. Media being the site of struggle, it is not surprising that alternative narratives exist side by side. Women, for example, are encouraged to embrace their womanhood and claim their own pleasure and independence, for one, but when it comes to dealing with men they are still expected to be passive and submissive, waiting for men to do the hard work. If we think back to what the corpus analysis revealed about the dating game of women and men, very similar dynamics were identified.

Even if men's magazines are generally less uniform than women's, it is a common trait that they are also built on controversial narratives. There is a conspicuous search for masculine identities, which is due to the change feminism and the new woman brought. As a response to these changes in social roles, men are now encouraged to acknowledge their weaknesses (*Men's Health*) or to show care for the world (*Playboy*). Nevertheless, traditional values like strength, persistence, toughness (*Men's Health*) and objectifying sexism (*Playboy*) are still prevalent in the discourse. What is still undoubtedly manly, and in opposition to women's magazines' messages about femininity, is to be active and to take the lead. Once again, language use also seemed to communicate just that. Additionally, magazines reveal that an interest in serious matters like high culture, science, technology, and economics is (strictly) a masculine trend. To make an impression on a man, an appeal to his intellect will work,

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<sup>17</sup> Keeping in mind that all four are international brands that contain a mix of global and local content, their stance on gender mirrors global trends, not just local.

whereas women are portrayed to be convinced through their emotions. The dichotomies typically connected to gender (see Chapter 2) are emphatically present in lifestyle magazines, which reinforce the assumption that people as essentially binary and as such essentially different: not only are there explicitly *men's* magazines and *women's* magazines, they are strikingly different from each other.

## **Chapter 5: Gender in Advertising**

### **5.1. Visual and multimodal discourses**

In the previous chapters, we analyzed gender construction in verbal discourses. In Chapter 3 the Hungarian national corpus was put under scrutiny, with the intention to reveal how gender is construed in contemporary Hungarian language use. In Chapter 4 we turned to Hungarian media – more specifically magazine – discourse, so we could explore how popular culture makes sense of, and normalizes, gender roles. The analysis put most emphasis on verbal language but it already addressed the issue of multimodality. In fact, it is clearly not only verbal language that is used to produce texts reflecting discourse, and ideology, so an examination of gender construction in Hungarian needs to go beyond the text.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the so-called pictorial turn was identified to take place (Mitchell, 2010). Due to the fact that postmodern communication started to overwhelmingly make use of images, there has been a rise of interest in researching visuality (Barthes, 1968; Silverman, 1999; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009). In the study of discourses, this shift has significant consequences: it has been acknowledged that contemporary discourses are predominantly multimodal, that is, involving more than one semiotic resource, such as language, image, or sound (Van Leeuwen, 2014: 281). It is enough to think about popular cultural texts, such as glossy magazines, which are notoriously richer in images than in words; or the emerging field of digital communication like blogs, websites or social media, which combine verbal and visual language, sometimes even with sound, to communicate their messages. Movies and television are self-evident examples too.

Next to and intertwined with popular culture, advertising is another highly multimodal and powerful discourse which penetrates our lives. As opposed to popular culture, advertising is open and explicit about wanting to influence our views. As such, it is an imperative that I include the analysis of advertising discourse into the research of gender construction in Hungarian.

It is a conspicuous and essential trait of advertisements that they are overwhelmingly image-based, which has important implications. As they say, a picture is worth a thousand words, so its impact is emphatically powerful. According to Barthes's (1968) definition, elaborating on Peirce's (1883) semiotic theory on the relationship between the sign and the object, meaning has two levels. Denotation is the basic, literal level of meaning, while

connotation is the subjective, cultural, ideological reading of it. Advertising messages are typically meant to operate on the level of connotations (Moriarty, 2010: 92), which has two relevant consequences. On the one hand, bearing in mind the chain of interpretations and an active interpreter, we have to realize it is much more problematic to analyze images. Nevertheless, for the interpretation of advertising images we do have some guidelines, exactly thanks to their genre. In the case of advertisements, the goal of the communicative act is transparent (namely, to turn the decoder into a consumer and to promote consumption), which fact helps us interpret the intended message. The other consequence of the connotative nature of the advertising discourse is that its influence is more compelling and harder to resist than more explicit, more denotative verbal messages. It is a typical tendency that advertisements, and images in general, appear to be more conservative, keeping stereotypical interpretations much longer. As van Leeuwen explains, in connection with another social issue, racism:

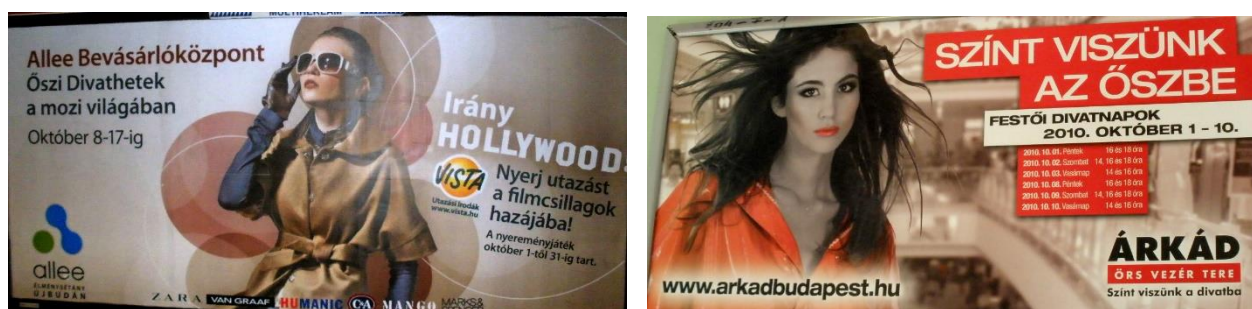
Visually communicated racism can be much more easily denied, much more easily dismissed as “in the eye of the beholder” than verbal racism [...] it is for this reason that a consideration of images should have pride of place in any inquiry into racist discourse. (2000: 335).

That is, due to the polysemous nature of images, along with their appeal to the subconscious, visual communication has a powerful impact on racist or sexist (and so on) discourse. Consequently, it is imperative for CDS to address and scrutinize the visual components of discourse as well. Despite the insistence on the importance of non-verbal communication (Fairclough, 2000; Wodak, 2009; among others), the majority of CDS analyses have been monomodal. The present chapter, along with the one afterwards, is intended to contribute to multimodal CDS research, emphasizing its relevance when exploring social inequality in general and gender inequality in specific.

Like in the previous chapters, I will start by a contextual overview, explaining the genre specificities of advertising and its role as a discourse. Advertising is closely related to media, yet its primary function is fundamentally different. While media aims to control behavior and attitudes, through contesting narratives, for the purpose of maintaining hegemonic power relations (Gramsci, 1971), marketing theory defines advertising to be only concerned with sales promotion (Bauer et al., 2007: 49). But how does advertising reach that goal? As a matter of fact, it uses a technique very similar to media. Advertising, in order to sell a product, needs to transform people into customers, applying various psychological processes and (re)producing normalized social stereotypes, borrowed from popular culture.

Whether the advertising process is essentially persuasion or manipulation, that is, if it respects the interests of people or not, is questionable (Huszár, 2011: 124). Nevertheless, advertising claims that its persuasion is aimed at products, not at values. Clearly, though, advertising discourse does have unintended social consequences due to the way it operates. Being pervasive, repetitive, persuasive, and idealizing (Pollay, 1986), advertising is another powerful discourse that produces and reproduces ideology and with that power relations (Barthes, 1957). Take for example the well-known motto of female beauty brand, L'Oréal, "Because I'm worth it," which typically accompanies an image of a woman who looks content to have just utilized a certain beauty product. The sentence-starting conjunction ("Because...") identifies the nature of the relation between the visual input and the verbal input as one of causation: the text functions to justify the picture. Due to the assumed relation between the image and the text, the first person singular in the subject ("I...") is understood to refer to the female figure in the picture, underlining her agency. The verb phrase of the sentence, then, asserts a conscious self-appreciation to her ("I'm worth...") and adds an unspecified deictic object pronoun ("I'm worth *it*"), which, due to its vagueness, entitles her to be worthy of *anything* (consumed). The multimodal advertising message, on the one hand, reinforces what we have identified in other discourses as well: a way of doing femininity is to be obsessed with one's body (Barát, 2017). On the other hand, we can also trace the usual inconsistencies in defining femininity: while the woman is called to embrace her self-worth, she is also urged to *fix* herself by purchasing beauty products.

In order to explain the advertising process in more depth, I will use Judith Williamson's (2002, 2010) seminal work on decoding advertisements. As it was pointed out before, the purpose of advertising is to make us buy a product. In order to achieve this goal, the ad needs to make us believe that the product is, for one, outstanding, and, for two, necessary. The chief mechanisms at play are correlation and connotation (Williamson, 2002). If we look at the types of products in the ads, we notice a remarkable similarity: we find beauty products (like near-identical face creams), pharmaceutical products (like near-identical multi-vitamin pills), or drinks (like near-identical beers), etc. The essence and function of the ad is exactly to make us forget about this uniformity, by verbally and visually creating the sensation that these fundamentally comparable products appear significantly different to us (Williamson, 2010: 136).



(17) Figure 5.1: The function of advertising: Distinction

The advertisements define their products in comparison to one another, forming a reference system, as Williamson (2002) put it. In Figure 5.1 we can see two strikingly similar billboard ads, which advertise comparable events: the autumn sales days at their respective shopping malls (Allee vs Árkád). The structure of the ads is identical: next to the stylishly clothed upper body of a female figure, the logo of the shopping mall, the date of the sales, and the motto that verbally anchors the message are included. The explicit verbal cues in the motto (“Irány Hollywood!” – Straight to Hollywood! vs “Festői divatnapok” – Picturesque Fashion Days) reinforce an interpretation of the female figures (one dressed and posing like a Hollywood celebrity vs the other gazing at the spectator as if from a portrait) as the visual metaphoric embodiments of the malls and the fashion days. It is this difference in the connotations they evoke which leads to a sensation of difference in the service. It is easy to see that these essentially similar services appear different only because, with their multimodal content and references, they trigger different emotions and connotations in us. As the juxtaposition of these two billboards clearly demonstrates, meaning production is relative and referential (Fillmore, 1982), both within the frames of advertisements (in the form of comparative meaning), and in the larger frames of popular culture (in the form of cultural references, like Hollywood or painting; or gender stereotypes, like that women *care* about fashion and *enjoy* shopping).

Like we saw, the purpose of the ad is, first, to create the illusion that the product stands out from the multitude of similar items. Then, secondly, the ad still needs to convince us that the product is essential for us to have. To understand how correlation and connotation are used to achieve this, let us examine the advertisement in Figure 5.2. How does this ad try to promote its brand, Coca-Cola? The first crucial thing to notice is that the ad portrays a human figure, like in the majority of the cases. While gender, age, race, ethnicity, and several other factors determine how similar we will perceive a certain person to us, generally we do identify with a fellow human being more likely than with anything else. It is identification that makes an ad relevant for us (Erős, 1981), hence the recurring pattern of displaying



humans in the majority of ads. Typically, we would find segmented advertisements, which means that products and brands targeting women would be illustrated with a (more often than not, young) woman, and those for men by (again, typically young or middle-aged) men. However, identification is not the only cognitive process ads make use of. The (heteronormative) procreational instinct is often activated too; in such ads, typically addressed to men, the central character of the ads belongs to the opposite sex, portrayed in a sexualized pose.



(18) Figure 5.2: The function of advertising: Satisfaction

The woman in Figure 5.2 is positioned in a non-sexual way; therefore, her figure does not activate the sexual frame. Her function is to place the product in a personally relevant context, thus, facilitating identification. She is opening a Coca-Cola bottle, which activity rhymes perfectly with the motto written just under the huge Coca-Cola cap in the top left corner: “Nyiss a boldogságra!” (Open to happiness). The correspondence between the verbal and the visual message, both of which imply the process of *opening*, suggests correlation between the objects of the action: (opening a) *Coca-Cola* is (opening to) *happiness*. The woman’s smiling face further reinforces the implied message, which is that opening (thus, metonymically, drinking) Coca-Cola leads to happiness. The multimodal message of the ad is that happiness is accessible to you, by simply getting a coke.

As Bernstein puts it, “[p]eople don’t buy products, they buy satisfaction” (1997: 43). Consequently, ads are designed to operate primarily on the level of connotations, not on the level of denotation: it is not the product that is offered for consumption but the promise of satisfaction correlated with the product.

Although ads generally work along the same guidelines, the different subcategories like magazine ads, television ads, online ads, and outdoor ads do have some specificities on their own. In the following, we will focus on outdoor ads. Even if magazine ads and television ads have attracted much attention from scholars (see for example Goffman, 1978; Williamson, 2002; Lazar, 2009; Bell & Milic, 2010), outdoor advertising has been largely neglected, both by scholars and marketing professionals. It is mostly so because its influence is declining; as a matter of fact after the rise of TV ads, outdoor posters were assigned to supporting role only (Bernstein, 1997: 55). Several times billboard messages cannot be deciphered completely without a background knowledge of the TV ad it alludes to.

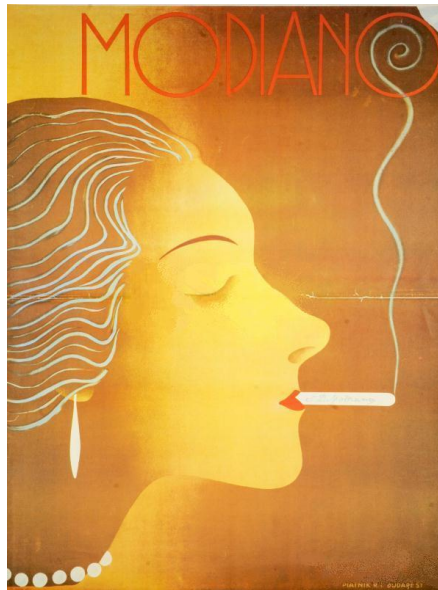
Despite this, we need to recognize the importance of exploring and considering outdoor ads for two main reasons. Firstly, it is still outdoor advertising that is seen by (almost) everyone. To get access to magazine ads, you need to buy the specific magazine. To watch a TV ad, you need to have the specific channel and be interested in the specific show it is broadcasted in. To be exposed to an online ad, you need to have access to and be active on the internet. Outdoor advertisements, however, are inevitable for anyone, no matter their age, gender, sexuality, race, economic situation, or interest, once they leave home and enter into public space. Secondly, from a historical perspective outdoor ads play a crucial role. It is a fact that advertising itself began outdoors. The first public bill – a papyrus message about an escaped slave – dates back to 146 B.C. in Egypt. Ancient Greece and Rome placed tablets on the walls as public announcements such as the schedules of public games. The first printed handbill, associated with the clergy, originates from 1477. In the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, posters appeared but at this point they were exclusively used and regulated by the state or the church. In 1740, then, the first commercial poster came into being, thanks to a merchant in London, and shortly afterwards even color painting and printing became possible due to lithography (Bernstein, 1997: 14). At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the rise of art movements like art nouveau, cubism, expressionism, and surrealism, gave a boost to poster art, especially in Europe. Paris became the center of modern art, with (poster) artists like Jules Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Alphonse Mucha among others (Henderson & Landau, 1980).



(19) Figure 5.3: US poster from WW1

The evolution of the poster took a significant turn over the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since Europe was tormented by two world wars, most of the posters were used for state/war propaganda in the first half of the century. Billboards started to have a serious function, which led to and justified their mass production. In the United States, it was World War I that brought a significant change. Previously, American posters were heavily influenced by the trends in Europe, but their growing quantities and questionable artistic value made people antagonistic towards them. So the American government put serious regulations on billboards. But as the Great War came, suddenly outdoor ads started to play a crucial role and their use became legitimized, like in Europe, for recruiting and war propaganda (see Figure 5.3). The other event that reshaped the billboard landscape was the rise of the automobile. After World War I, the American economy boomed and welfare brought about consumerism and mobility, two ideas that became markedly one with America. Outdoor advertising became a means to get to people wherever they went, evangelizing consumerism, which, together with cars and mobility, became integral parts of “the American lifestyle.” Highways packed with giant billboards suddenly turned into “buyways” (Gudis, 2004: 1).

The birth of Hungarian poster art is closely linked to the European modernist trends at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The posters made by Hungarian artists Lajos Kassák, Róbert Berény and Sándor Bortnyik had an international reputation. The golden age of modern poster art in Hungary was between 1898 and 1938 (Katona, 2013), when posters, like the one in Figure 5.4, were famous for their symbolism, reduced forms, bold concentration, and imaginativeness (Pásztor, 2016).



(20) Figure 5.4: Hungarian poster from the 1920s

Like in other European countries, the world wars – and especially the following Soviet regime – transformed posters into the primary means of propaganda. From the 1950s, the Hungarian poster broke with the stylistic traditions so far characteristic of the genre and started to follow the Soviet model. Socialist realism was didactic, narrative, naturalistic, and pathetic (Pásztor, 2016), driven not by aesthetics but by education. The posters were used to reshape the society and prepare it for a new world order, socialism. With the moderation of the dictatorship, posters became more and more commercial in nature. After the change of the regime in 1990, Hungary entered the global market and posters became tools of a less apparent power, consumerism.

After we were introduced to the broader context of advertising, it is time to bring gender into the picture. Let us see how gender identity is shaped and reflected by advertising discourse. Advertising is a powerful tool of meaning production, so it is worthy of our attention when exploring gender construal in a culture. Interwoven with media, advertisements appear in magazines and in television side by side with the main content, just as in the digital world and in urban space, accompanying people wherever they go. Even if

media and advertising have fundamentally different functions, their discourse about gender is very similar.

Advertising is designed to sell, portraying commercial goods as the solutions to (real or imaginary) problems, thus, as the means to gain happiness. To reach its goal in the limited time and space available, advertising needs to address people as effectively as possible; as a consequence, it re-applies social stereotypes media (and generally, popular culture) discourse produces and maintains. Women as appearance-conscious, thin, young, neat, and sexy beings, who reach satisfaction through their relations, especially through their male partner and /or child; and men as strong, serious, independent, sexually charged, and work-focused individuals, who realize themselves through various activities, typically alone or in loose cooperation. Figure 5.5 shows an expressive juxtaposition of two gendered billboards in the capital of neighboring Slovenia. On the first billboard (which is a political ad), men are portrayed in business attire, engaged in some form of serious activity. On the adjacent poster (which is a fashion ad), the woman appears in a light, casual, even erotic, dress, playfully looking away – funnily enough, in the direction of the group of men.



(21) Figure 5.5: Gender roles on outdoor ads

As it was claimed at the beginning of the chapter, sexist discourse persists longer in images or genres applying images (Van Leeuwen, 2014: 288). Advertising unmistakably falls within this category, not only because it is a heavily image-based genre but also considering its core function, the promotion of sales, which is fundamentally conformist and business-oriented. Advertising, therefore, is bound to be a conservative medium, whose discourse responds to societal changes slowly. For example, even if in the United States 50% of managerial jobs are filled by women and 55% of new companies are owned by women, advertisements still connect the workplace – or politics – almost exclusively to men (Koernig & Granitz, 2006).

Similarly, even though paternity leave is getting more and more widespread in Western societies (and Japan and Korea as well), few ads place the child next to a male figure.<sup>18</sup>

Gender-focused advertising analysis has mainly concentrated on magazine ads, uncovering that gendered portrayals are highly binary. Even though change has been obvious, meaning that ads are less sexist than before (Koernig & Granitz, 2006; Bell & Milic, 2010), negative stereotypes and sexism still prevail. Women in objectified positions and contexts are still wide-spread; body image, especially for women, is still unrealistic; interpersonal relations and responsibilities are still one-sided; and heteronormativity is still hardly resisted. The ad, made by world-famous fashion brand Dolce & Gabbana, in Figure 5.6 is a prime example of all the above. We can notice a clear distinction among the characters based on their gender. The six men appear very similar to each, and different from the only woman in the picture, both in their appearance and their activity. They are dressed in dark, formal clothes, caught in the middle of or after what seems to be a hunting activity (note the weapons – knife, bow and arrow – and the flesh on the ground). All eyes are fixated on the central character, the white-haired, made up nude of a woman protecting her private parts. She appears to be their muse and prey, sexualized and objectified, whose defenselessness is further emphasized by her almost sculpture-like pose and gaze (along with her similarity to the actual statues in the background). Power relations are evidently one-sided and gender-related in D&G's ad.



(22) Figure 5.6: Gender roles in print ads

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<sup>18</sup> It must be added, the numbers are growing though.



### 5.3. Gender in the discourse of Hungarian outdoor ads

In the remaining part of the chapter, I will provide an analysis of one specific type of advertisements, outdoor ads, from a gender perspective. Why such a scrutiny is relevant is because this specific subtype of advertisements is rarely examined, despite its prevalence (at least in Hungary); and because a multimodal CDS analysis of its gendered discourse is bound to bring crucial conclusions regarding Hungarian gender construal in general.

In a time period of two years (between 2015 and 2017), I collected 180 outdoor ads in Budapest, the capital of Hungary. The criteria of inclusion were 1) that the ad contains at least one human figure and 2) that it is a commercial, not a political, advertisement. I made no distinction between billboards (larger, horizontal posters, typically next to roads) and citylights (smaller, vertical posters, typically in bus stops), because they often overlap both in their location (for example in subway stations) and in their content (we often find the same ad both in a billboard and a citylight version).<sup>19</sup> The reason why data collection was limited to the capital only is threefold. For one, Budapest is by far the most commercial and urbanized area of Hungary; thus, considering that in Hungary billboards are not mainly on highways but in metropolitan areas, Budapest is the richest source of outdoor ads. For two, the majority of outdoor ads tends to be national rather than local; thus, it is likely that other urban areas would display similar or the same ads as what I found in Budapest. For three, due to my residence in Budapest consistent data collection could be guaranteed only here; thus, for methodological reasons I found it better to limit my research to this area.<sup>20</sup>

#### 5.3.1. Methodology

As it was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, advertising discourse is highly visual and its impact is powerful exactly because of this. Consequently, a thorough CDS analysis of advertising must not ignore its multimodal nature. Kress & van Leeuwen's (2006) seminal work on visual grammar claims that images can be decoded and analyzed in a very similar manner as verbal language. Their visual semiotic methodology distinguishes three main dimensions of visual semiosis: the representational, the interactive, and the compositional. For example, in what narrative role someone is represented, from what social distance someone is

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<sup>19</sup> For the sake of simplicity, throughout the study I am using the word *billboard* interchangeably with *outdoor ad*, collectively including billboards and citylights too, if not indicated otherwise.

<sup>20</sup> This limitation, however, must be borne in mind when assessing the results of the research. The analysis focused on the (outdoor advertising) discourse which by definition targets the metropolitan areas and residents of Hungary. Since rural areas are less exposed to outdoor advertising, its discourse is less powerful too.

portrayed, or in which part of the picture someone appears would be relevant questions and examples of these dimensions, respectively. While their work provides some tools for visual or multimodal analysis, their method is not necessarily critical (Van Leeuwen, 2014: 286) in that they are not aimed at revealing social-critical issues.

Bell & Milic (2010) applied Kress & van Leeuwen's (2006) methodology in the examination of gendered ads. Their aim was to revisit Goffman's influential (1978) analysis about gendered (magazine) advertisements, which applying content analytic tools made the ground-breaking observation that print ads consistently portray women in a subordinate position to men. To test these findings several decades later, Bell & Milic attempted to reconcile Goffman's analytical concepts of "the family," "the feminine touch," "the ritualization of subordination," and "licensed withdrawal," with Kress & van Leeuwen's categories. The goal was to check if Goffman's exasperating conclusions about women's secondary status in magazine ads were still valid (2010: 422). Bell & Milic examined for example the conceptual and narrative roles assigned to female and male characters, concluding that Goffman's findings about men being the "doers" and women being the "reacters" are still accurate. They also checked interaction between the characters and the viewers, concluding that social distance is more intimate with female characters than with males, but that women tend to look into the camera, in control of the gaze, as opposed to Goffman's report from the 1970s where they were portrayed as "withdrawn." Frames and modality were also analyzed, but they were found problematic as they are inseparable from the genre, that is, the context of the specific ad (for example, that it is a magazine ad, not a billboard; that it is in one specific type of magazine, not another; that it is an explicitly promotional image or an integrated one; etc.). Bell & Milic's analysis is a quantitative research, and as such it cannot decode peculiar meanings arising from the context. As a consequence, their study offers important insights into the gender construction of advertising discourse, but without qualitative-contextual considerations it cannot be comprehensive and critical enough for our purposes now.

The above two approaches served as starting points for my research; nevertheless, I needed to complement their quantitative examinations with detailed, qualitative context analysis, for a social-critical scrutiny. Machin & Mayr's (2012) monograph is dedicated to explaining how to do multimodal analysis while staying true to CDS principles. They demonstrate methods and case studies, pointing out how particular pictures and texts form meaning together so they need to be analyzed in cooperation. Images are used to add a



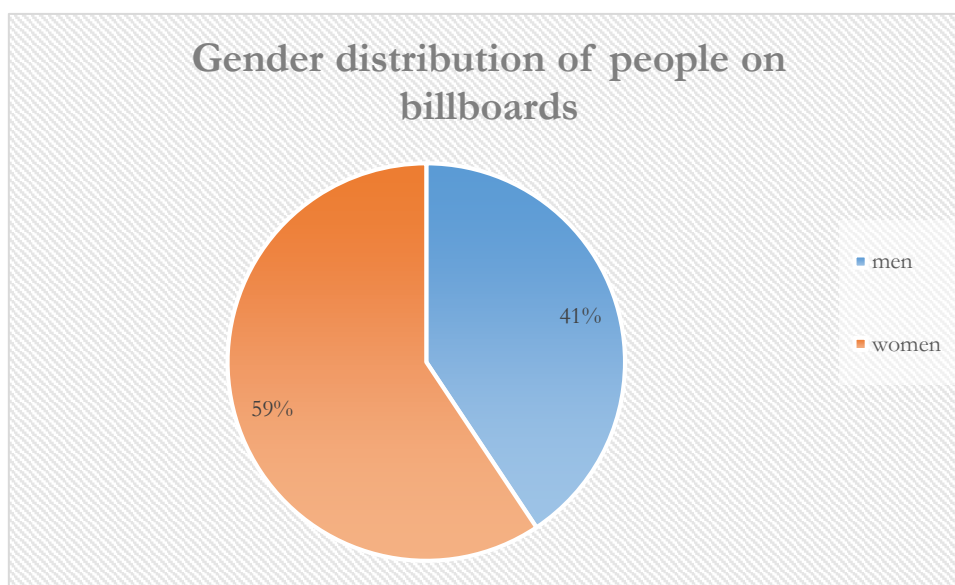
background, a context, and specific connotations to what is communicated by the verbal elements, so while image and text work together, their functions are different. Some of the aspects Machin & Mayr are looking at when decoding what social messages are transmitted by images are: how characters pose and are positioned; how they look into the camera; how they participate in the action; what aspects are foregrounded; and what metaphors are used with them. As we can see, there is some overlap between Kress & van Leeuwen's and Machin & Mayr's categories (for example, the issue of activeness or passiveness, regarding gaze and involvement in the action), but what is the main difference is their focus being quantitative or qualitative, respectively.

Considering the benefits of each of the two approaches, I decided to combine the statistically focused, thus representative, and the contextually sensitive, thus, thorough, analyses. As the essence of CDS research is its critical stance, a partly quantitative, partly qualitative scrutiny promises to bring both comprehensive and critical results about the specific discourse. The next section (3.2) will present the quantitative findings, based on Kress & van Leeuwen's (2006) and Bell & Milic's (2010) approaches, which will prepare and lead to the qualitative examination (in 3.3), based on Machin & Mayr's (2012) multimodal CDS methods.

### **5.3.2. Quantitative results**

The quantitative analysis consisted of four parts. I started the examination with a general question: what is the gender distribution of human figures on the selected billboards? I analyzed the ads from two perspectives to find the answer. Then, I went through the three dimensions of visual analysis Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) listed. First, I examined the composition of the images, observing foregrounding-backgrounding and relative size in relation to gender (also in Goffman, 1978). Then I moved on to the representational dimension of the ads, checking narrative roles and occupations in order to uncover gender-specific function rankings. Finally, I explored the interactional dimension, putting gendered intimacy under scrutiny. I examined the possible relationship between gender and social distance, for one, and gender and physical contact, for two.

### 5.3.2.1. General gender distribution



(23) Figure 5.7: Gender distribution of adult characters on billboards

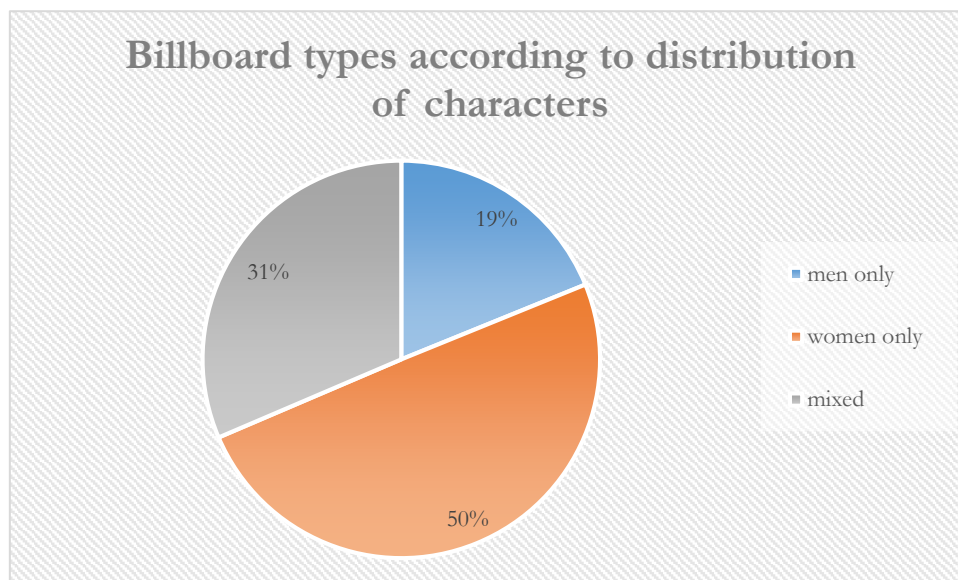
In order to get a picture about the general gender distribution of adult human figures on billboards, I approached the ads in two ways. First, I identified all the characters that appear on the collected billboards and whenever gender was specified as either female or male, I counted them. Figure 5.7 above shows the overall results: generally, female characters outnumber males on outdoor ads.

Let us go into details by examining Table 5.1. As it reveals, when a billboard portrays both male and female characters (“mixed-sex billboards”), the gender distribution is fairly balanced (82 vs 78). Typically, mixed-sex billboards are framed for the portrayal of couples or families (see Table 5.2 later); hence the equal distribution. Nevertheless, when it comes to single-sex billboards, the gender difference is conspicuous. As the table uncovers, men appear significantly less likely on all-male ads than in mixed-sex frames (44 vs 82), which is not the case for women (106 vs 78). First it might seem counterintuitive, going against what we saw in the analysis of other discourses about masculinity and femininity: it is typically women who are construed as inseparable from (heteronormative, or generally interpersonal) relations. In the case of advertising, however, it is not so much about emphasizing the social needs of a gender(ed character) but providing context. Before we could make sense of its gender implications, we need to look more deeply into the differences between single-sex and mixed-sex ads.

on	single-sex billboards	mixed-sex billboards	total
<b>men</b>	44	82	126
<b>women</b>	106	78	184

(13) Table 5.1: Gender distribution of adult characters on billboards

As a next step, I explored the distribution of all-female, all-male, and mixed-sex billboards. First of all, why is it relevant to categorize ads in this way? As it was explained in the previous section, the key mechanism that makes ads persuasive is their potential for identification: if we recognize somebody similar to us (or to our category), we perceive it to be “relevant,” a reference for us. The more “texts” are aimed at a particular group, especially if they are alike, the stronger the impact of normalization.



(24) Figure 5.8: Billboard types according to gender distribution of characters

As Figure 5.8 shows, the large majority of billboards are single-sex (almost 70%), and less than one-third of them is mixed. The distribution of all-female and all-male ads is conspicuously unequal: billboards about women highly outnumber those about men. In fact, every second billboard portrays only female characters, whereas only every fifth is all-male; that is, there are almost 3 times more women-only ads than men-only. What this means is that women are exposed to more reference figures to compare themselves to than men. If it implied more variety, it could be a good sign, but if the illustrated (and normalized) social values and gender frames are the same all the time, it is just a more powerful reinforcement of stereotypes.

Table 5.2 below contains a more detailed summary of the corresponding quantitative results. As we saw before, female characters tend to appear much less on mixed-sex billboards than on all-female ads, as opposed to men. What is more, if we break down the numbers for single-sex billboards, we can notice an obvious gender difference. Women tend to be illustrated alone, not in the company of other women or children (67 vs 20), while men are almost equally alone or accompanied (20 vs 13). Company typically entails the activation of a context (like two men hiking in a forest or a parent holding a child), while being alone generally coincides with decontextualized illustration (a person posing in front a blank background, implicitly or explicitly displaying the product). Women are most often portrayed in the latter manner, without context, only as a body, symbolically one with the product to consume.

Regarding mixed-sex ads, it was shown before that there is no significant gender difference quantitatively speaking, as the typical settings of such billboards are (heterosexual) couples, (heterosexual) families, or other, less intimate relations, such as work contexts or social gatherings.

type	subtype	amount	%	total
<b>all-male</b>	one man	20	60.61	33
	man in company	13	39.39	
<b>all-female</b>	one woman	67	77.01	87
	woman in company	20	22.99	
<b>mixed</b>	couple	23	41.82	55
	family	11	20	
	other	18	32.73	

(14) Table 5.2: Type of billboard according to the gender of adult characters portrayed

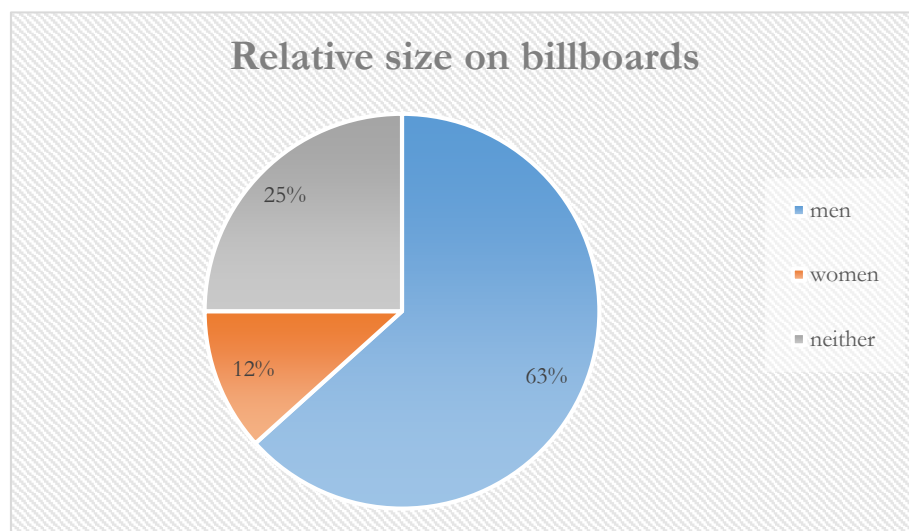
### 5.3.2.2. Composition

Following Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) and Bell & Milic (2010), I examined certain aspects of the composition of billboards. First, I looked at foregrounding-backgrounding, then physical proportions (which Goffman calls relative size). I was interested to see what they tell us about interpersonal relations and if they have any gender-specific implications. In Goffman's (1978) analysis, men were shown to be more central and larger, in short, more salient than women.

	foreground		larger	
	amount	%	amount	%
<b>man</b>	19	31.67	38	63.33
<b>woman</b>	18	30	7	11.67
<b>neither</b>	25	41.67	15	25

(15) Table 5.3: Gender and salience on billboards

As Table 5.3 summarizes, we can notice little gender-specific difference regarding who is put in the foreground, as opposed to who is backgrounded, which is an ameliorating tendency. Compared to the 1970s, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century men do not seem to visually dominate the ads anymore. Typically women and men appear in salient visual positions in equal amounts. Nevertheless, with relative size there are significant gender differences still. Men are portrayed to be larger compared to women in almost two-thirds of the cases, lending them salience and importance over women. In only 12% of the cases are female characters illustrated to be larger than males (see Figure 5.9). Physical size, and with it connoted symbolic importance, is still a binary matter; like we saw in the previous chapter, women are encouraged to get thinner, losing weight, while men are pushed to get bigger, gaining muscle power. The binary distinction of feminine as being small and masculine as being big is discursively reproduced and reinforced not just in media (see Chapter 4) but in advertising too (as shown here).

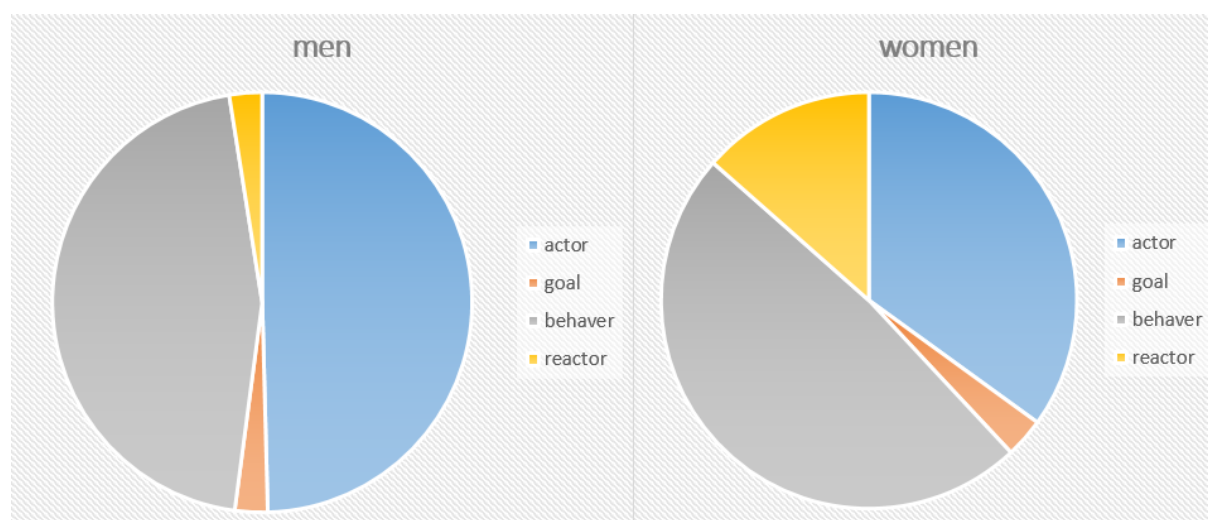


(25) Figure 5.9: Gender and relative size on billboards

### 5.3.2.3. Representation

The next dimension to analyze is the representational. First, I will scrutinize the relationship between gender and the narrative roles assigned to the characters on the billboards, then I will explore the gender-specific implications of occupational roles.

When it comes to narrative roles, Bell & Milic's (2010) gender analysis follows Kress & van Leeuwen's distinction and defines four possible actantial roles. The actor is someone who is doing something to another participant; the goal is a someone at whom another participant's action is directed; the behavior or expresser is someone performing a "non-transitive" action such as smiling, walking, etc.; and the reactor is someone who is reacting to something or somebody else's action, like smiling *at something or someone* (2010: 424). Based on the above distinction, I defined the narrative role of each figure on the billboards and summarized the results in Figure 5.10. Men are construed as actors most often (50% of all cases), while women are represented most frequently as behavers/expressers (49% of all cases). Both of these results are in synch with Goffman's findings from the 1970s and Bell & Milic's more recent results. Another significant gender difference is that women tend to be reactors much more often than men (14% vs 3%), which is what Bell & Milic found too. It is a positive change, though, that women and men are equally rare goals of somebody else's actions (women 3%, men 2.5%); yet, indirectly women are still more impacted by men's action than vice versa (by being expressers and reactors, which men rarely are).

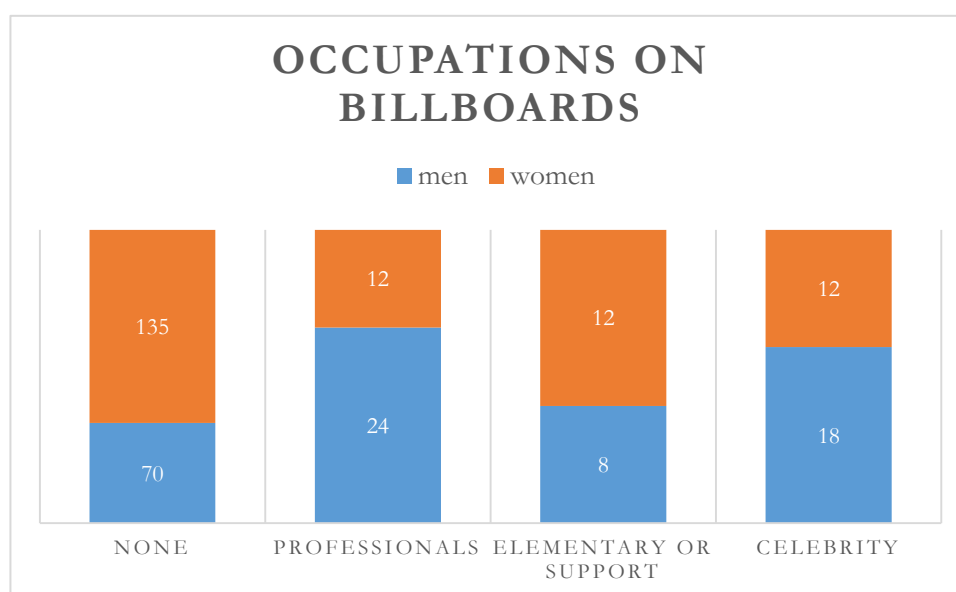


(26) Figure 5.10: Gender and narrative roles on billboards

After analyzing how each character takes part in the concrete actions framed by the ad, I decided to examine if, following Goffman's terms, this gender-based function ranking is present on the symbolic level too. Besides the narrative roles of the characters, I scrutinized their public roles too, checking if there was any relationship between gender and the

occupations assigned to characters, hence their symbolic public prestige. I expected to see that men would still more likely get portrayed as being more in control, while women as being more in assistance.

Figure 5.11 displays the gender-specific proportions of profession types as displayed on billboards. The first column of the diagram reveals that women appear without occupations twice as many times as men (135 vs 70). What this means is that a career-based identification is much more important in the case of male identities. When occupations are specified and foregrounded on billboards, they typically fall within the category of professional jobs, like managers, bankers, or engineers, probably because people with these occupations are the type of consumers advertisers aim to target the most (due to their higher social and economic status). Regarding high-prestige occupations, like professional or celebrity jobs, men significantly outnumber women (42 vs 24). The single most frequent profession for men is sports, which was construed as a marker of masculinity even in media discourse (see Chapter 4). For women, there is no outstandingly popular occupation (besides, of course, motherhood); nevertheless, they do outnumber men in elementary and support occupations, like clerical or service jobs (12 vs 8). Billboard discourse, therefore, upholds a gender-specific functional hierarchy even when representing power relations in the public sphere. This does not go against what we found earlier: as a matter of fact, in Chapter 3 we noticed the same about language use. In the Hungarian national corpus, men are construed to be much more connected to the public domain than women.



(27) Figure 5.11: Gender distribution of occupational roles on billboards

#### 5.3.2.4. Interaction

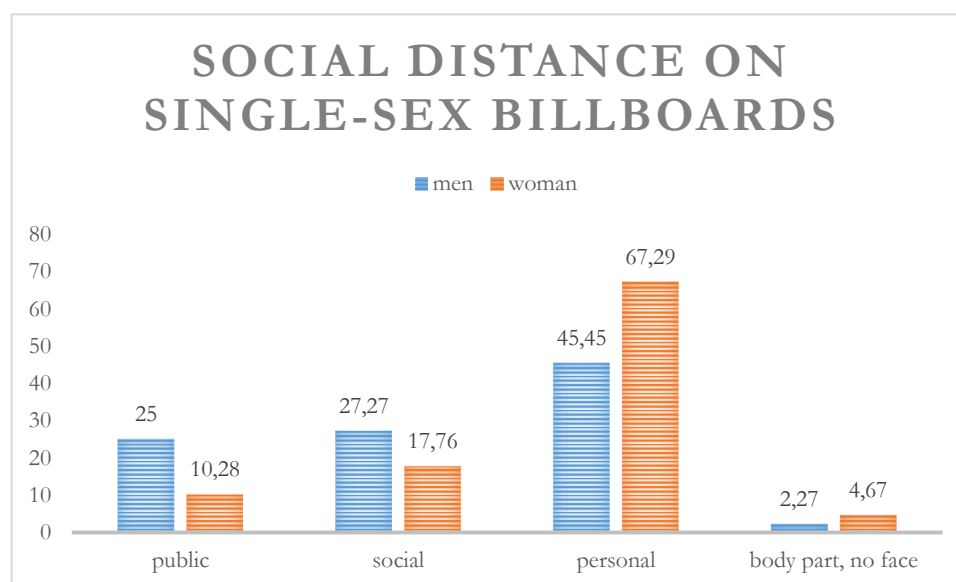
According to Kress & van Leeuwen's (1996) image analysis, social distance can be measured by how close the camera, thus the viewer, is positioned to the figure, which can be decoded by how much we see of the person. Following Edward T. Hall's proxemics, they define distance to be *intimate* if we see the face of that person only. It is *close personal distance* when some part of the body, like the shoulders, are also visible next to the head. When the whole body is illustrated, it is *far personal distance*, and *public distance* is when several people are visible. Since I analyzed each figure individually, it made more sense to merge the last two categories of Hall into one, and, following Bell & Milic (2010: 419), I eventually named my categories as *personal*, *social*, and *public*. Furthermore, I added another category not present in any of the previous studies: in my analysis it consists a separate group when only a *body part* (different from the head) is displayed. Typically such a shot is a close-up, which would make it an example of *personal distance*, but due to the backgrounding of the face (thus, the person), it is an impersonalized and objectifying perspective of the figure, which triggers very different connotations.

It is easy to concede that most of the billboards that portray human figures follow a pattern: the large majority displays people's face and some of their body, thus typically illustrating people in a personal distance from the viewer. Such a perspective implies an intimate, close relationship with the consumer, which increases the character's (and the ad's) reliability and influence. Understandably, billboard advertisements, which are generally consumed en route and for a short period of time, place their communicative power more on personal-emotional impressions rather than on detailed-rational arguments, hence the intimate positioning. Nevertheless, social and public distancing are also applied occasionally, but clearly not so frequently, while body-part-only representations tend to be even fewer.

As for gender-specific differences, mixed billboards show little of them, since generally on such billboards women and men are illustrated as part of a couple or a family, which bond tends to be indicated by their physical closeness (which in turn positions them in comparable distance from the viewer). However, when it comes to single-sex advertisements, men and women are construed in pronouncedly different ways. Figure 5.12 summarizes the findings regarding the social distance of male and female characters on all-male and all-female billboards, respectively. As we can see, almost 70% of all-female ads portray its female character in a personal distance, while this number is much lower for men (only about 45%). At the same time, men tend to outnumber women when it comes to social or public distancing. In the latter case, male characters exceed females more than twice. In other words,



women are construed more in intimacy, while men are represented to keep their distance; therefore, the private-public dichotomy is once again assigned to gender roles (see more in Chapter 2). Finally, regarding the fourth category, we can note that female characters are twice as likely as males to be illustrated without their face, in an objectified-symbolic manner.



(28) Figure 5.12: Social distance on mixed-sex billboards

As another aspect of intimacy, Goffman's (1978) analysis revealed the phenomenon of "the feminine touch," namely, that women tend to touch or caress objects or themselves relatively often. Men, on the other hand, are either not in contact with anything, or when they are, they tend to grab or hold, in a functional-instrumental way. I was also curious to see whether touch is gendered on Hungarian billboards, examining who is in physical contact with whom or what.

Table 5.4 below illustrates how gender determines the likelihood and the direction of a person's touch. As we can see, billboard characters, whether male or female, are most likely to engage in physical contact with an object, which comes as no surprise, given that the essence of the ad is to sell a product, typically an object, which is best to represent visually too. The physical contact between the human figure and the product is also crucial, because it underlines the unity of the object with the person, investing it with the desirable traits of the person; in fact, it is both the object and the person that are offered for consumption.

Scanning through the table, we can notice that in most categories women and men do not show significant differences in their respective percentages. There are two cases, though, which are worth paying special attention to. In the last column we can see that male characters are almost twice as likely not to touch anything as females; that is, men are illustrated to be

fine on their own, without any physical contact. The other striking difference is that when women are not touching an object or another person, they tend to touch themselves, which is a tendency men do not really resort to (20% vs 6%). In other words, if there is no object (product) to touch, men will most likely stand on their own, while women will touch themselves. Goffman's findings from the 1970s are still valid 40 years later, revealing for one how conservative advertising discourse truly is at least in its gender construction, and for two how the female body is still of primary focus, not just from the male gaze but as "innate" female narcissism.

touching	partner	family /child	other person	oneself	object	nothing
<b>man</b>	10.08%	12.61%	5.04%	5.88%	36.97%	29.41%
<b>woman</b>	8.88%	11.83%	3.55%	20.12%	37.87%	17.75%

(16) [Table 5.4: Gender and touch on billboards](#)

### 5.3.3. Qualitative results

The quantitative results helped us to identify the main tendencies regarding gender construal in the Hungarian advertising discourse. Now we will move on to analyze specific billboards for each gender in a more profound, genre- and context-sensitive manner, following Machin & Mayr's (2012) multimodal CDS approach. Just like in the previous chapter, I have selected the texts (there the magazine articles, here the billboards) for the detailed discourse analysis according to their typicality. The previously presented quantitative findings served as bases for deciding what counts as typical for the representation of femininity and that of masculinity. For each gender I have identified and analyzed two typical outdoor advertisements.

#### 5.3.3.1. Femininity on billboards

What are the primary characteristics of illustrating femininity on Hungarian billboards? First of all, the quantitative findings revealed that more than 80% of billboards with a human figure portray a woman or women; that is, advertising discourse is fairly verbose about femininity. In fact, every second ad contains *only* female characters, which also entails that women outnumber men almost 3 times on single-sex ads.

Generally speaking, women are illustrated alone. For one, they tend to appear more often on all-female ads than on mixed ones, that is, without the company of men; for two, even on all-female billboards they are less frequently accompanied by other women or children than on their own. It was also shown that not just company but context is missing too, which reveals a more symbolic usage of the feminine figure/body. As for their participation in the actions portrayed in the ads, women tend to “behave” or “express” rather than “do” something. Even symbolically, they are represented as less active and less powerful than men: very often their public roles – their occupations – remain backgrounded. While in the public space women seem to be less salient than men, in the private-intimate sphere they seem to outnumber males. Women are illustrated to be in close personal distance from the viewer, thus emphasizing their intimate relationship, contrary to men keeping their distance. When it comes to physical contact, women tend to initiate it more often: when not touching an object (the product) or a person (their partner or family), they will touch themselves. Considering the above features, a typical billboard about femininity will portray the woman alone; without context; taking part in an “intransitive action”; with no public role revealed; but with private relation emphasized, through intimate distancing and physical contact. Out of those that met these criteria, one citylight from Desigual and one from Huawei were selected for text analysis.



(29) Figure 5.13: Typical billboard of femininity – Desigual

Let us begin with the ad made for Desigual, a Spanish fashion brand which is famous for its colorful, one-of-a-kind-looking, unusual clothing (Figure 5.13). Even if it is a heavily image-based ad, the goal of its communicative act is fairly obvious, specifically because of its genre. We expect that an ad will try to promote a product, a service or a brand as its core message. In this case, the poster is aimed at popularizing the brand in general and one of its products – a bag – in specific. The function of the text in outdoor ads is to anchor the visual message by highlighting its relevant part(s), so we have to conclude that this ad was designed and manages to promote more the brand in general than a specific product, given that the only text on the ad is the name of the brand. The product itself is not highlighted verbally, either by being named or by being given a price. Visually, though, it is emphasized fairly well; for one it is placed at the center of the picture, for two, it is in the hands of the human figure, which always draws the most attention.

As a matter of fact, the relationship between the product and the human figure is at the core of this ad (and ads in general). It is a typical tendency that human figures are used as the embodiments of the products or services advertised; in fact, it has been shown that ads have strong metaphoric bases (Kövecses, 2002: 59, Velasco-Sacristán & Fuertes-Olivera, 2006: 1989, Szlávi, 2012a: 90). For example, at the beginning of this chapter we looked at two billboards in Figure 5.1, noticing that the female characters appeared as the metaphoric embodiments of the respective shopping malls. In the present ad we can also spot that the product and the woman are linked on several levels. First, it is their conspicuous similarity that creates a metaphoric unity: on the one hand, she is wearing pants with very similar (flowery) patterns that ornate the bag as well; on the other hand, her obviously and unusually dyed hair emphasizes her “uniqueness,” which is the attribute the bag – and the brand – are also famous for. It is not only (highlighted) similarity that binds them together, though, but also contact. The connection between the product and the woman is activated on a metonymical level too, thus emphasizing their part-whole relation. Not only is it that she is in physical contact with the bag, it is also that she is holding it in front of her (partly revealed) naked upper body as if it was her clothing, integral part of her. As a result of its metaphoric-metonymic one-ness with her, the product is invested with the connotations related to the woman (like attractiveness, uniqueness, desirability, etc.), which helps increase its market value. However, the impact is not unidirectional, so this is just one side of the implications. Due to the equation between the product and the woman, she herself becomes the object to

sell, offered for consumption. Even if not obviously sexist, this ad – like many others – contributes to the objectifying discourse about women.

Let us see what else this billboard conveys about femininity. Like on most ads that portray women, the female character is displayed alone. She appears in a social-private distance, with most of her body covered by the product. This positioning has a dual aim: partially to hide and partially to reveal her naked chest, a crucial symbol of femininity and seduction. With its subtleness, the eroticism brought into the picture is alluring enough for the (heterosexual) male audience but not too alienating for (heterosexual) female consumers. As for her activity, she is placed as standing still in front of a blank (but lightly colored) background, which rips her out of any natural context. The way she is standing, with tilted posture, holding the bag in front, and looking away, makes it obvious that she is posing, that is, ostensibly inviting to be looked at and consumed. Besides offering herself as the model to be the object of gaze, she herself does not return the look by making eye contact; she withdraws from the interaction, reiterating her intransitive or even passive role in the communicative act she is part of.

Typically, the face is the central part of the body, a mirror of emotions, thus of “personality.” In this ad, the female model is turning her head sideways, which directs the focus away from the face, thus the personality, of the woman. Still, most of the face can be reconstructed from what is revealed. On the one hand, she is portrayed to be feminine in the “usual way,” white and middle class, with conspicuous make-up, attention-grabbing lipstick and slightly open, thus enticing, mouth, in order to be able to address women the way they are used to being addressed, thus aligning with the discourse of ads and popular culture. On the other hand, she is also aimed to appear “unusual” compared to women in general, thanks to the emphatically colored and centrally placed hair, so the ad can convey the message of her / Designal being unique. Note that while this billboard intends to celebrate difference and unusualness in the construal of what is “good femininity” (of course still for the brand’s own benefit), it ends up strengthening the very same stereotypes. Individuality, in relation to how to do femininity, is still limited to appearance and how to “change yourself for better.” The woman’s hair dyed unnaturally white or neon blonde as a symbol of alternative and attractive femininity only emphasizes the discursive obsession with body politics when it comes to construing femininity (Barát, 2017: 3).

Let us move on to the second advertisement, displayed in Figure 5.14, which is made for Huawei, a Chinese information and communication technology corporation. The goal of

the ad is to promote Huawei P9, a smartphone whose main specificity is that it has a dual lens camera; thus its photos are above average. To advertise the product, a TV commercial was also made, where Scarlett Johansson (who is the model on this poster) was staged to be competing with Henry Cavill, another Hollywood star, about who is taking more impressive pictures (with their Huawei P9 smartphones). In many cases billboards function to refer back to TV ads, and presuming that the information has already been transferred, the billboard can be used only as a reminder. Despite the general tendency, in this case the outdoor ad and the TV commercial are not tightly related: in the present billboard the actress is not dressed as a cowboy anymore, like she was throughout the TV spot, nor is she portrayed in a context of competition, which was at the heart of the TV ad. The two commercials, thus, make no reference to each other but could be interpreted on their own.



(30) Figure 5.14: Typical billboard of femininity – Huawei

Despite this tight connection, we can still notice that the outdoor ad is heavily building on external knowledge. Never does it explicitly mention that the ad is about a phone, for example. Only if we are aware that *Huawei*, the brand name as displayed in the top right corner, is an ICT company, or that *Huawei P9*, as displayed at the bottom right corner, is a typical product name for a phone, and that a “new level of photography” (as emphasized ambiguously in the text) can be nowadays a relevant feature of not just a camera but also a smartphone, then can we assume that this billboard aims to advertise a phone. It becomes clear that the ad was made to target an informed audience who already knows not just about the brand but also about the technical details of this smartphone. Even in the case of the

previous, Desigual, ad a certain amount of brand awareness was necessary to fully make sense of the ad message. But since the aim of that billboard was to communicate a general impression about the brand, not details about a specific product, the essence was bound to be accessible for a larger audience. Here, however, a specific product is in focus and due to the scarcity of information on display only a more select audience, an elite group of consumers with detailed background knowledge, is able to decode the message.

The difference between fashion (and appearance) ads vs technology (and intellect) ads lies not just in their (degree of) elitism, but also in their (degree of) seriousness. With Desigual, and generally with fashion ads, a variety of bright colors are used to connote lightness, passion, and a set of emotions. As opposed to this, tech ads like this Huawei, apply a limited number of colors – blue, black, and white mainly – to convey a sensation of seriousness, professionalism, and reason. These two sets of colors are typically associated with the two genders too (the former being feminine, and the latter being masculine), and very often they are also indicative of which gender a specific ad aims to primarily target. Technology has been typically connected to masculinity (see Chapter 4).

Why is the ad using a female character if it advertises a product more related to masculinity? Like in the previous case, the relationship between the product and the human figure is crucial. Even if this ad is less image-centered than the previously analyzed, the visual segment illustrating the woman holding the phone still covers 2/3 of its surface. Note that being an ad for a more serious and more technical product, it has to contain some text, but all verbal information is positioned in the lower 1/3, which is much less in focus, especially considering that being on a citylight poster, that part is way below eye level. The most accentuated part of the poster, then, is the female figure holding the product. Like before, we can notice the metaphoric-metonymic connectedness of the woman and the object. On the one hand, they are related through similarity: the main colors of the product and her figure are matched. On the other hand, especially because of this the physical contact gets accentuated; what is more, the phone appears as a seamless extension of her hand, as if part of her. Once again, the equation of the phone and the woman is deliberate, so her appealing features, such as desirability, can be transferred to the product. The effect is two-way, though: while the product gets embodied, the woman gets commodified; she is offered for the consumption for the (heterosexual) male audience.

Her consumability is reinforced also by a subtle erotic undertone. She is wearing make-up, smiling with her lips slightly apart, while gently touching her face with her (phone-

holding) hand. Besides this, she is in intimate distance, even making eye-contact, all of which seems to be sending out an invitation for interaction. Nevertheless, from the context we soon realize that the interaction is not directed “outwards”; her transitive involvement in the action is not so transitive after all. Recognizing the typical posture and keeping in mind that the ad is aimed at promoting the camera of the phone, we understand that she is posing for a selfie in front of a mirror. Therefore, she is not looking at the (male) audience but at herself; instead of interaction, there is self-absorption. She is offered to be looked at as she is looking at herself, which is another form of voyeurism typically associated with the male gaze (Mulvey, 1999).

Compared to the previous ad, this one portrays its female character in a somewhat more active role: she is not only posing, as the model for Desigual, but also taking a picture. Nevertheless, the activity is still self-contained, and, physically speaking, it involves no movement just standing still. We will see in the following section that one of the most crucial differences between construing femininity and masculinity on billboards is how much motion, the most basic form of activity, is permitted.

#### **5.3.3.2. Masculinity on billboards**

Contrary to women, male figures are represented much more often on mixed-sex billboards than on all-male ads. Even when they are not accompanied by women, men tend to have other males or children around. That is, men are construed to be in company, and in a specific context, such as a family setting, a social event, or a work occasion, which renders them more concrete than symbolic. When a male figure appears next to a female, he is portrayed to be larger and more active. Men tend to be positioned as the doers and the executors, regarding their narrative roles, and as having prestigious jobs, such as managers, bankers, or athletes, regarding their public roles. Compared to women, men are illustrated more often as having a specific job, while women tend not to appear with one. Regarding personal intimacy, men are represented in more distance; social and even public distancing is much more frequent for men than for women. Men are portrayed to avoid intimacy on another level too: when it comes to physical contact, they tend to be fine without touching anything or anyone, let alone themselves, while women are not. Out of the ads that suit the above criteria, I chose the following two: one billboard from Budapest Bank and one citylight from the Hungarian Treasury, both about a specific financial service.





(32) Figure 5.15: Typical billboard of masculinity – Budapest Bank Personal Loan

The first ad, as seen in Figure 5.15, aims to promote Budapest Bank's personal loaning service. Most of the information the billboard intends to communicate is expressed by the text, starting from the name of the service (in huge letters) through the general details (written in medium-sized font) to the specific conditions (displayed at the bottom, in hardly legible size). The information which is implied by the visual part, for example that the loan can be used for home renovation, is never explicitly reinforced by the verbal message; as such it appears more as a possible interpretation and suggestion than an inherent part of the message. Contrary to what we saw in the analysis of all-female ads, this billboard appears to be text-dominated rather than image-focused, appealing more to reason rather than to emotions.

Before we get deeper into the analysis of this billboard, some background information needs to be provided. Budapest Bank tends to base its advertising activity on TV commercials, but billboards are also regularly employed to back up the television ads. As a consequence, Budapest Bank's billboards cannot be analyzed without the consideration of their intertextuality. In fact, they need to be examined in relation to the respective television ad, to which the present ad is no exception. Around the time this billboard came out, a TV commercial, starring the same figures that appear in this billboard, was launched about the bank's personal loaning service. Given the obvious connections, it is clear that the present billboard was made in reference to the TV ad, primarily to activate the sensation and the knowledge already transferred by the commercial, while succinctly summarizing the core of the message even to those unfamiliar.

Generally, the advertising campaigns made for Budapest Bank have one central element in common; namely, that Hungarian actor Dénes Száraz, typically on roller skates, is the main figure. Due to the essential role of his character, we need to start by examining his

significance in these ads generally, and in the present ad specifically. Like in the majority of banking ads, the male character functions as the embodiment of the bank; Száraz then is the personification of Budapest Bank. For one, he always wears a piece of garment which is red, the bank's color (see the logo); for two, he is the one that seems to possess all the information, introducing and explaining to us the specific banking service in the focus of the ad. As we see, his connection to the bank is reinforced both visually and verbally. Like we noticed before, human figures being symbols of what is on sale is not uncommon. However, it is worth observing the gender implications of the typical scenarios: women tend to symbolize products (like clothing) that can *be purchased*, while men often represent service providers (like banks) that enable *us to purchase*. In other words, women are construed as objects and goals, while men as agents and facilitators.

In the present billboard, the man is not only the embodiment of the bank but also a father figure. His role as a parent is activated by the presence of a woman of his age and a child. Additionally, the sign ("We are renovating") also reinforces the (heteronormatively automatic) reading of the three figures into a "we," a family. Note that all three figures are on wheels, which renders the interpretation that the family is *going* somewhere together. Generally, Száraz appears on roller skates in the ads, which has a special significance. The skates come to metaphorically symbolize the banking service: just like skates make you move faster, having a loan will help you advance more quickly in your life too. According to conceptual metaphor theory, life goals seen as physical destinations, progressing understood as going forward, and reaching a goal more efficiently perceived as advancing faster are commonly used (verbal-visual) metaphors which conceptualize life as a journey (Lakoff, 1987: 75; Lakoff & Johnson, 1989: 66; Kövecses, 2002: 70). Even if all characters are on wheels, not just him, it is conspicuous that his figure is much more central to the activity. He is the largest character, he is the one in the foreground, and he is the one pointing in the direction of the destination, thus claiming leadership. In short, it is clearly communicated that he is in charge of the process and of the progress. In addition, it also bears significance that they are portrayed to be on different means of transportation. He is on roller skates, which is literally the extension of his feet; thus, his advancing appears as more integral part of him (and his own efforts). On the contrary, the adult female figure is on a bicycle while the girl is on a scooter, both of which are visibly separate from their users; their progression, thus, is more pronouncedly portrayed as instrumented by an external source.

Furthermore, if we scrutinize the distribution of the tools displayed to activate the home renovation setting, we notice another reinforcement of implied hierarchy and degree of control. Firstly, it is only the two adult characters that carry instruments, underlining their more active share in the activity. Secondly, we can also spot that the male character is the only one who is in direct contact with the tools; as such, he is implied to be more closely related to and more in control of the activity than she is. Therefore, even if the three characters are illustrated to be parts of the same setting and the same activity – literally, moving forward and symbolically, advancing with home renovation and life plans – their roles and responsibilities are clearly ordered, and gendered. While she – and the rest of the family – can only be supporters, he is portrayed to be the main agent of the activity.

Exactly as a consequence of putting so much emphasis on his function, the ad invites little scrutiny of his body, contrary to typical female representations. If we think back to how much emphasis women's billboards placed on the portrayal of the (female) body, it is a striking difference how insignificant it seems to be when it comes to construing masculinity. The male character is portrayed in public distance, so it is mainly his activity that is offered for observation, not his bodily details.



(33) Figure 5.16: Typical billboard of masculinity – Hungarian State Bonds

The other billboard selected for the analysis of how advertising discourse construes masculinity is aimed at promoting the state bonds of the Hungarian Treasury (Figure 5.16). As another advertisement focused on a financial service, this billboard is similar to the previous one regarding its goal. An additional resemblance of theirs is that both of the billboards accompany a TV commercial. The Hungarian Treasury's television ad made in 2014 and running through 2015 focuses on the concept of trust. The 30-second-long TV spot features short everyday scenes from romantic relationships, parent-child relationships, human-animal relationships, and work relationships, accompanied by a soft female voice-over that explains the importance of trust in all kinds of relationships, including finances. At this point the narrator shifts to listing a few technical details about the Treasury's state bonds but she is quick to conclude that what really matters is not only numbers but even more "your trust." Two kinds of billboards were made in relation to the TV commercial: one which features a still photo of each of the relations presented in the film and another which singles out one of them, the couple whose scene closes the TV ad as the narrator concludes that trust is the most important thing. In the following, we will put the latter billboard under scrutiny.

Like before, it is essential to approach the examination with a dual perspective: on the one hand, we need not ignore the implications that the billboard is connected to a TV commercial; on the other hand, we need to analyze the billboard as an independent communicative act, which is expected and made to convey a message even without the intertextual knowledge of the viewer. Structurally, the ad is distinctly divided into two: the upper part displays an image of a man taking a closed-eyed woman on a bike, while the lower half provides detailed information about the financial service in focus. Just like in the case of the previous ad, the textual component is indispensable for the interpretation of both the image and the advertising message as a whole, especially if the viewer is not familiar with the television ad that is being referred to.

Let us examine the verbal part first. The noun phrase "kiérdemelt bizalom" (well-deserved trust), located in the middle of the poster and written in the largest font size, appears to be the central message of the ad, just like of the TV commercial. If we are oblivious to its intertextual reference, its meaning seems unspecific and unrevealing, which forces us to search for further information. In the top right corner of the picture, we can spot another piece of text, printed in large and capitalized fonts, which exposes a little more about the nature of the promotion. The fragment "megemelt kamatprémiummal!" (with increased interest premium!) starts to orient us in the direction of investments; nevertheless, it is only the

bottom section of the poster which uncovers the details to the viewer: the specific type of the investment and the most relevant data about it. The key features of the information section are that it abounds in numbers (note that in just one sentence four numbers are included), in references to the public sector (from economics through politics to business), and in formalities (on the one hand, the language use is formal; on the other hand, the blue font color also evokes formal contexts). It is clear then that the ad aims to appear as a serious, informative, public announcement, generally associated with masculinity.

What is still unclear though is how the central message of “well-deserved trust” relates to all this. Printed on top of the image, the statement calls for a joint interpretation with the image. In fact, the function of the visual part is not only to refer to the TV commercial but also to make sure that even without a familiarity with the commercial the message will come through. As it was explained before, advertisements primarily communicate in connotations, so the message of this ad is not simply to inform about the service of state bonds but to emotionally connect the viewer to them. While the verbal part serves mainly to appeal to reason, the affective component of the message comes mostly from the image. In the picture we see two people who, due to their physical proximity and their apparent ease with their closeness, are interpreted as a couple. They are sitting on a bike, advancing on a road in the woods. Note that it is again the journey metaphor which is made use of in order to connote progress and advancement thanks to a financial service. In this case, however, the picture is there not only as a metaphor of motion forward, like before. The activity and the position of the two people appear pronouncedly different and relevant too.

In the previous ad we noticed a certain degree of imbalance between the characters regarding their role and responsibility in the action, but these differences were subtle. Here, however, the roles of the two characters are markedly divided according to their gender. It is the male figure who is portrayed as the agent of the activity: he is the one riding the bike for the two of them, and his function as the agent is strengthened even symbolically given that his only body parts which are visible are his head and his hands, the metonymically activating his being in control and active. The woman, on the other hand, is the goal, both of our attention, being placed in the foreground, with most of her body exposed to us, and of the action itself: she is illustrated to take part in the activity in a completely passive way. In fact, she entirely lets go of control by not holding on to the handlebars, staying away from the pedals, and closing her eyes. What is more, she is portrayed to enjoy being taken by him. Why she feels like this is explained by what appears to be the caption of the picture: he has earned her “well

deserved trust.” How this romantic scene can be made sense of within the context of the advertisement is that, again, the male character is the metaphor of the financial service provider: the way he is blindly and well deservingly trusted so should the state bonds be trusted, the ad conveys its commercial message – while reproducing and reinforcing gender stereotypes of male agency and female dependency.

At this point it is worth dedicating some attention to the dualities of the ad. The conspicuously divided structure of the billboard as pointed out in the beginning had already foreshadowed the blended rhetorics of the advertisement, but the analysis of the two parts has now revealed that this division is strongly connected to the gender discourse as well. While the verbal section of the ad is pronouncedly linking the service to the public domain and masculinity, stressing seriousness and professionalism, the visual part – and actually, the entire TV commercial – unmistakably aims to create a relation with the personal domain, appealing to emotions through the female figure – or the female voice, respectively. It is not a coincidence either that the image locates the couple in nature, which can further reinforce the basic dichotomies of the genders: woman-nature-emotion facing man-business-reason.

## **5.4. Closing remarks**

The present chapter was concerned with exploring the characteristics of how advertising discourse construes gender in Hungarian. I examined around 180 billboards that appeared in the public spaces of Budapest between 2015 and 2017. The discourse analysis had two stages: it started with a quantitative examination focusing on the issues of representation, interaction, and composition, next to general gender distributional statistics. The quantitative results helped to identify billboards which are typical in their representation of femininity and masculinity, respectively. Two billboards were selected for context-sensitive, qualitative analysis for each gender, to complement the statistical findings and comply with the “critical” notion of CDS research.

Some of the main findings include that, as opposed to the tendencies revealed in language use (see Chapter 3), women’s invisibility is not an issue in the (image-dominated) advertising discourse. Quantitatively, the representations of women clearly outnumber those of men: in fact, more than 80% of billboards with a human figure portray a woman or women. Unfortunately this does not translate into a more liberating or diverse portrayal, though. Women tend to be construed in a very similar fashion in advertisements as in the other

discourses: with their body and their appearance put in the focus as chief domains of doing femininity. As a matter of fact, the advertising discourse is the one that abuses women's bodies the most, reducing femininity to nothing but appearance (Barát, 2017: 3). In fact, female characters are usually illustrated as doing nothing but posing, that is, just “intransitively” being present in their bodies, or offering their bodies to be observed or consumed by others. It is striking that all the female bodies on display are white, middle class, and heterosexual, symbolically disqualifying Roma, lower class, and LGBTQ+ women as “good Hungarian women.”

Men's bodies, however, tend to get minimal attention; it is rather the function or the (usually transitive) role their character plays in the action that seem to matter in the definition of Hungarian masculinity. Most often the male characters will be portrayed as the agents of the activities. It came as little surprise when the qualitative analysis revealed that services, like a loan or an investment – which help us *do* something – are promoted in male-focused settings, while products, like a bag or a phone – which help us *be* something – are more generally associated with women.

As van Leeuwen (2000: 335) pointed out, visual stereotypes tend to outlive verbal ones; therefore, image-focused discourses such as advertising are bound to be more conservative, and as such less open to overcoming social inequalities. It is emphatically true in the case of gender representation due to the portrayal of the body, which has been functioning as the primary tool of justifying binary gender distinction. In the next chapter, however, I will attempt to show that images can be used for the reinterpretation, not just the reproduction, of gender stereotypes – and with that, alternative discourses can be created.

## Chapter 6: Gender in Public Art<sup>21</sup>

Based on the previous chapters analyzing language use, popular culture, and advertising, the construction of gender appears to be fairly uniform in Hungarian discourses. Both monomodal and multimodal examinations show that binary gender roles, assigning well defined characteristics to people according to their gender, are prevalent in Hungarian language use and culture. But are there alternative and subversive discourses? In the present chapter, I will introduce one of them – public art – which has great potentials for resisting hegemonic discourses. Given its special significance, this chapter will be structured in a slightly different manner than the previous ones. It will start with a fairly long introduction, which is motivated by the fact that the discourse of public art is a seldom examined theme in academia (see some research on murals in Deutsche, 1998 or Irvine, 2012), and not at all scrutinized in the Hungarian context. Murals – which are the in the main focus of this chapter – are influential communicational tools around the world (Golden et al., 2002), especially on the American continent, but they are fairly new in Hungary. As a consequence, the corpus I could work with is much smaller than what I had access to for the analyses of the other discourses. Even like this, murals had to be included in the examination of gender construction in Hungarian discourses due to their promising potential as alternative discourses.

### 6.1. Discourse in public space

When describing visual culture, Irvine claims that “urban public space is always a competition for power, by managing the power of visibility. To be visible is to be known, to be recognized, to exist” (2012: 249). How public space is transformed into discourses, therefore, is crucial. Especially so, bearing in mind that three quarters of the world’s population lives in urban environments – in cities – which tendency just seems to grow. As the previous chapter pointed out, urban space has been put to commercial use historically; people have been exposed to a large dosage of verbal-visual messages, thanks to advertising. The abundance of messages that aim to turn the addressee into a receiver, a consumer, desensitizes people and turns the input into noise (Rumbo, 2002). As de Certeau (1997) puts it, an “imaginary discourse of commerce is pasted over every inch of public walls.” But is it

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<sup>21</sup> The research presented in this chapter could be realized thanks to the generous support of the Fulbright Commission, for which I am extremely grateful.



really the only way? Is public urban space inevitably noisy and used for the manipulation of consumer trends, and with that, the reproduction of gender stereotypes?

A number of contemporary cities offer an uplifting alternative: public art, more specifically community murals. Nowadays most urban areas in America and several in Europe (including Hungary) run mural projects, as community art has become a fashionable tool of building community, enhancing visibility, and fighting social inequality. For instance, Philadelphia, the so-called “capital of murals” with its more than 3,000 murals (Golden et al., 2002), today appears as abundant in public art messages, as any modern metropolis is, of public ads. The content of the messages, however, looks strikingly different. Let us compare public art with the previously analyzed outdoor advertising, for instance. Outdoor ads and community murals are, obviously, two different genres, so why the comparison? The reason why it makes sense to put them side by side for scrutiny is because they have two crucial features in common. For one, they are both overwhelmingly image-based, thus, strongly impacting our social stereotypes (Van Leeuwen, 2000: 335). For two, they both occupy a large part of public space and bombard people with their messages day by day. In short, both discourses are very influential. As a matter of fact, advertising has been shown to affect people’s self-perception (Grabe, et al., 2008); murals – even if not yet widely researched – have also been supposed, and proven, to influence people’s well-being (Kraemer Tebes et al., 2015). Therefore, their discourses and their representations (of gender for example) are crucial for society, thus, critical to examine.

While outdoor ads are designed to make people want to buy products by creating and reinforcing a sense of dissatisfaction and inadequacy (Rutledge Shields & Heinecken, 2011), community art, as it appears in Philadelphia for example, serves somewhat the opposite: namely, to inspire people by spreading a sense of satisfaction and belonging.<sup>22</sup> As it was explained in the previous chapter, billboards, to be easily digested and effective, utilize, thus, normalize social stereotypes (Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia, 1977). Community murals, on the other hand, portray, thus, celebrate the diversity of the contributing community – very often actual members of the community are painted on the wall. The reason for the above disparity

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<sup>22</sup> Of course, Philadelphia murals, or generally community murals, are not representative of all contemporary mural projects, even less of historical mural movements. Murals have been used for a variety of purposes. In many Latin American countries they were important tools of revolutionary change sponsored by the government (Mexico) or by subversive groups (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile); in Europe they were reflections of political conflicts (Northern Ireland or Berlin); in the Middle East murals are the primary means of Islamic propaganda (Iran). That is, in some cases murals have been community projects, while in some others they are governmental, thus not a lot different from mainstream advertising propaganda. My research focuses on contemporary Western murals, which trend Hungary is also part of.

is simple. Billboards, as a form of advertising, are produced by and used for the purposes of mainstream media, which functions to reinforce the mainstream ideology or cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). As opposed to advertising and mainstream billboards, community murals are inspired, and sometimes even realized, by the community, blurring the line between producers and receivers. Community murals, thus, seem to challenge the dichotomy billboards (or advertising, or, even more broadly, mainstream media discourse) utilize, especially in the case of gender.

As it was shown in the previous chapters, media and advertising discourses portray gender as being binary, people being either men (and masculine) or women (and feminine). Characteristics, functions, and roles are divided and linked to one of the two categories as defining features. Reason, logic, activeness, and the public domain are masculine, while emotions, sensitivity, passiveness, and the private domain are feminine – viewed from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity (Milestone & Meyer, 2012). Community murals can go against this dichotomy in two crucial ways: in the portrayal of people (representing not ideals or stereotypes but real-life people) and in the process of the portrayal (involving people in the production, thus loosening up the object-subject, passive-active division).

Advertising messages have been analyzed for decades. It has been shown myriads of times how extensively stereotypical and sexist ads are (Kilyeni, 2009; Milestone & Meyer, 2012; Szlávi, 2016) and even if gender representation has gotten less biased and less dichotomic over time, they still contribute strongly to gender inequality and damaging social trends (Pollay, 1986; Koernig & Granitz, 2006; Bell & Milic, 2010). Despite their potentials in influencing public opinion, public art or community murals have received much less attention from scholars so far (Deutsche, 1998; Irvine, 2012; Marzolph, 2013), especially regarding their gender representation. They are worth scrutinizing though, as their popularity is on the rise: more and more communities discover the impact and usefulness of “activism” and community art. Their intended or unintended verbal-visual messages are, therefore, important to examine. Let us explore if and how much gender representation on outdoor art is different from that of outdoor ads, or generally the mainstream discourses we have analyzed so far. Are the usual dichotomies present here too or are they contested? To find the answers, I will introduce the most prolific environments for mural production, Latin America – within that Mexico – and North America – within that the United States. Since in Hungary the public art scene is only emerging, I deemed it necessary to start with these successful public art

programs, in order to be able to showcase what potentials the rising Hungarian mural movement might have in terms of resisting hegemonic discourse about gender, for example.

## **6.2. Discourse of modern muralism**

Before going into the analysis of the mural programs and their means to subvert (or reproduce) discourses of social inequality, we need to put the genre of public art and muralism into a historical context. Since murals have received very little attention, especially from a CDS perspective, and analysis cannot be context-blind, I will give a lengthier introduction to the genre.

### **6.2.1. Latin America**

The birth of modern muralism is often associated with Mexico. The country has a long tradition of muralism; archaeological excavations of Mesoamerican cities reveal cultures abundant in mural paintings (Evans & Webster, 2010). Evidence shows that each of the main cultures defined as predecessor civilizations to Mexico, including the Olmec, the Maya, and the Aztec, used murals. Typical themes appearing on ancient murals are war, agriculture, animals, mythology, and deities, which will inspire later murals as well.

The renaissance of the mural tradition is dated to the 1920s. After the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the newly formed government was eager to redefine Mexican culture, by invigorating Mexico's native identity. One crucial means to build and strengthen national identity was public art, mainly due to extensive illiteracy among the people. José Vasconcelos, the new Minister of Education, commissioned young and talented muralists to create Mexico's national art and spread national values through wall paintings (Rocheftort, 1993). The three leading muralists of the period – who are in fact still the most well-known artists of Mexico – were José Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, and David Alfaro Siqueiros. “Los tres grandes,” as they are often referred to, became internationally acclaimed painters (Comisarenco Mirkin, et al., 2015). Their fame and international projects played a crucial role in spreading the mural movement to neighboring countries and beyond, among them the United States, where each of the three were commissioned for public and private mural works.

Due to their primary political function, modern Mexican murals had recurring themes such as native history, ancient mythology, and national symbols, and later leftist-socialist

topics like class struggle. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, murals were crucial in shaping Mexico's national identity. Even though many of them were commissioned by the government, some of them did end up being subversive and provocative. Both Aurora Reyes, the first female muralist of Mexico, and Frida Kahlo's group, the Colectivo Los Fridos, addressed feminist issues with their murals, for example, by *Ataque a los maestros rurales* and the façade of *La Casa de la Mujer*, respectively (Comisarenco Mirkin, et al., 2015).

Murals played important roles in the history of other American societies as well. In Latin America, the mural movement went hand in hand with leftist political initiatives. In Nicaragua, for example, about 300 murals were painted after a successful revolution in the late 1970s, which broke with the anti-Sandinista, US-supported dictatorship. The murals were supposed to commemorate and celebrate the revolution and Nicaraguan history, while spreading hope for a prosperous future (Kunzle, 1995). The Nicaraguan mural movement inspired public art projects in Panama as well. The murals of solidarity portrayed (leftist) revolutionary figures like Nicaraguan Augusto Sandino, Argentinian Ernesto Che Guevara, and Soviet Vladimir Lenin. Due to the changing political climate, however, both the Panaman and (many of) the Nicaraguan murals were destroyed later. El Salvador was also influenced by the Nicaraguan events, not unlike by the Mexican revolutionary mural movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, embracing muralism as a form of (leftist) resistance. After the assassination of Archbishop Óscar Romero, the protector of the poor in El Salvador, a violent civil war erupted, in which public walls were used as means of communication (Heidenry, 2014). The war remained unsuccessful but finally ordinary people were given voice. After the 1992 peace accord, the left continued using murals to commemorate El Salvador's (recent) history and to urge for a better future.

The mural movement was not limited to Central America, though. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Chile was also experiencing social unrest, parallel to the rise of muralism (Kunzle, 1998). In 1968 BRP, a Communist art group, was formed and shortly after that they headed to Santiago to fill the streets with murals calling for change. Chile eventually made that change, electing leftist Salvador Allende in 1970. After his assassination, leading to General Pinochet's dictatorship, the murals were used as tools of political protest (Spethman, 1983-1990). Chile, and BRP, is still famous for its mural paintings.

### **Tijuana, Baja California**

To present a specific contemporary mural location, I have chosen Tijuana, in Baja California. Tijuana is at the US-Mexican border, culturally and economically linked with San Diego, California, which is another prolific mural scene. In the two cities, however, public art plays a different role.

In Tijuana, there is not one location that collects the murals, nor is there one organization that creates them, contrarily to San Diego, where we will see Chicano Park is the main scene of all mural activity. In Tijuana the most famous pieces of art are on the beach, close to the border, but that is far from being all. Organizations such as Entijuanarte, Reactivando Espacios, Tijuana Innovadora, Festival Interzona, and so on, are making newer and newer murals on various locations, such as the city center, the party area called Zona Río, the beach, or university campuses (Milián, 2011). It must be admitted, however, that there is a common goal (or rather a common theme) behind these initiatives, which is to create an alternative narrative for a city with a bad reputation. Tijuana, due to its position, has often been associated with crime, drug trafficking, and prostitution, but thanks to recent public artistic projects, it is slowly overcoming its widespread infamy (Gili, 2013).



(34) Figure 6.1: Typical mural of Tijuana

The mural in Figure 6.1 demonstrates how progressive Tijuana's public art can be, even in terms of gender representation. Located on the Tijuana campus of the Autonomous University of Baja California, on the wall of its Art Programs building, the mural portrays a woman holding a mask, thus, evoking theatrical arts, and a man in an acrobatic position, thus, evoking performative arts. They are surrounded by films, photographic accessories, and a camera, in reference to other art forms the university's majors touch upon.

There are a number of features that defy traditional gender roles and representations, both of mainstream discourses like ads, and of general mural tendencies. For one, the female character is positioned in the foreground and in larger size than the male character, gaining more emphasis and importance. For two, despite general expectations, she is permitted not to smile; what is more, she is in fact crying. For three, the male character, posing as a dancer, a profession more traditionally associated with femininity, is showing significantly more of his body than she does. Typically it is a trait in the representation of femininity, not of masculinity, to put more emphasis on the body and to reveal more skin, which is to please the (heterosexual) male gaze. In this case, however, it is the female – or at least, an alternative – gaze that seem to regulate the scene, redefining sexual and power relations.

In San Diego, California, on other side of the border, the primary venue for community murals is Chicano Park in the neighborhood called Barrio Logan. It is an area largely populated by Mexican Americans (Chicanos), who have been fighting for equality since the 1960s (in the so-called “Chicano Movement”). The Chicano Park was created as part of the above mentioned civil rights movement in 1970, to invigorate the Chicano community. Although the movement has officially ended and the Park was closed for a while, the local community regained it and renovated each of the approximately 60 murals by 2013 ([www.chicanoparksandiego.com](http://www.chicanoparksandiego.com)). The Park, which is the biggest outdoor gallery of Chicano art, and murals in the US, has been used for celebrations and community meetings ever since.



(35) Figure 6.2: Typical mural of San Diego

Chicano Park, the location of the murals, one of which is displayed in Figure 6.2, is an iconic place for the Chicanos; therefore, Mexican symbols and memories of the Chicano Movement tend to be the main themes. Regarding gender, San Diego's murals appear encouragingly gender-blind, that is, somewhat subversive. The mural above for example presents a female Aztec warrior, which, combining strength with the feminine body, is an obviously atypical gender representation. Femininity is rarely associated with physical force and fight; nevertheless, the fact that this figure is adorned with such characteristics does not defy her womanhood. She is portrayed to be both strong and feminine, which is due mainly to the emphatic portrayal of her body. It is illustrated to harmonize typically feminine traits (breasts, longish hair, narrow shoulders with broad pelvis, jewelry, and a smile) with typically masculine ones (muscles, tattoos, and war outfit).

She is both physical and symbolic, a fighter and a metaphor of Mexican traditions; on her body and around her figure we can spot Chicano symbols and phrases such as "Libertad" (Liberty) or "Viva la Raza" (Long live the people). Despite the tendency observed in the other locations (which will be explicated shortly), in San Diego's Chicano Park history and leadership are illustrated through a female figure, which is a strong message of alternative gender discourses.

### **6.2.2. North America**

"Murals, most likely due to Mexico's precedence, the continent's warm weather and the medium's stereotypical bright colors, have somehow become the Latin American art form," as Heidenry (2014: 137) puts it, but it does not mean that their history is limited to Central and South America. In the United States, murals played a significant role too but their history evolved in a different way. In this case, it was not political (or specifically leftist political) but economic necessity that launched the mural movement, at least in the 1930s. To tackle the Great Depression, President F. D. Roosevelt created the Works Progress Administration (WPA), with the intention to offer new workplaces. WPA projects were aimed at constructing new public buildings like post offices and – following the Mexican example – decorating them with wall paintings. The latter was intended not just to create jobs for artists but also to bring art to the streets and increase national pride (Sperling Cockcroft & Barnet-Sánchez, 1993). More than 3,000 artists were commissioned to make murals and sculptures thanks to this initiative. "Los tres grandes," the great Mexican trio was invited to work on several mural projects as well, which had a great impact on US muralism.

In the 1960s, public art started to gain a political function, thanks to Mexico's, and specifically Diego Rivera's, influence. Mexican-Americans or Chicanos living in the Southwest began a movement (the so-called Chicano Movement), fighting against racial discrimination and for creating bilingual and bicultural education, along with farm workers' rights. In this decade-long struggle, murals turned out to be important means by being promoters of Mexican and Chicano self-identity. Muralism was used to glorify Mexican native history, just like in Mexico, but unlike in the mainland, Chicanos did not have governmental sponsorship for the mural projects. In the beginning, they were made locally and on a voluntary basis (Sperling Cockcroft & Barnet-Sánchez, 1993), but later cultural centers and local associations started to give support to them. The Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in Los Angeles, California realized the famous mural titled the "Great Wall of Los Angeles" (not just about Chicanos), while Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego, California helped make the Chicano Park murals, the largest outdoor gallery of murals in the country (this one specifically dedicated to Chicanos). In the 1980s and onward, several mural programs took shape to address racial and social issues; the most famous is Philadelphia's Mural Arts Program ([muralarts.org](http://muralarts.org)), whose founder was largely influenced by her early experiences in Los Angeles. In the following I will introduce this program in more detail.

### **Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

Philadelphia is called the "capital of murals" thanks to the immense number of wall paintings – in fact more than 3,000 – that has been installed since the 1980s. In 1984 the City of Philadelphia set up the Philadelphia Anti-Graffiti Network (PAGN), as part of a city-wide effort to uplift a troubled Philadelphia (Golden et al., 2002). Crime-rate was high, including misdemeanor vandalism like graffiti. The concept of PAGN was to put an end to graffiti vandalism by employing graffiti offenders as artists in public art projects, such as murals, so they can release their creativity in a constructive way. Thanks to the appointed head of the program, Jane Golden, who had brought her experience of murals from California where the movement first came to the US (Golden et al., 2002), public art proved to be a powerful tool for creating dialogue within the scattered communities of Philadelphia. Consequently, the program expanded and came to be known as Mural Arts Program (MAP) ([www.muralarts.org](http://www.muralarts.org)).

On a yearly basis, MAP produces 70-100 murals, overseeing the entire process, from idea through design to painting and dedication. MAP tries to involve the community on each



level: anyone can submit a mural proposal; the majority of the design process takes place on community meetings, which are open to the public; volunteers can join painting days; dedications are announced on social media and anyone is welcome. The murals are sponsored jointly most of the time, by city-level organizations, companies, private charity, and community donations (Golden et al., 2002). Themes and locations are widespread: typically the idea is to try and address an issue important for the local community. In Latino neighborhoods, the main topics have to do with Latino traditions (authored ideally by Latino artists); in African American communities local black leaders are common themes (painted by artists of color); or in the gay neighborhood there are a number of LGBTQI-themed murals. Typically, the mural is just one phase of the specific community-building project. In the case of incarceration and crime, for example, the two murals (called Healing Walls) were preceded by workshops in which offenders and the victims' family members were brought together to overcome their tragedies together. From these workshops and community meetings two murals were set up in North Philadelphia ([www.muralarts.org](http://www.muralarts.org)).

Among these initiatives, some of the projects are aimed directly at gender (im)balance, first by consciously attempting to employ women muralist (also of color), and second by producing murals that focus specifically on feminist topics.



(36) Figure 6.3: Typical mural of Philadelphia 1

In Figure 6.3, a mural from Philadelphia is clear manifestation of this, as it sends out a powerful feminist message. It is an all-female mural, commissioned by a female muralist, which explicitly celebrates women. The strong color combination (of red and black) and the features of the character tell us about an alternative femininity: a woman who defies traditional expectations. Her figure communicates strength, independence and subversion. She

does not look at us, nor does she smile, despite the typical expectations for women. She does not use make-up or display her hair, primary symbols of contemporary femininity, and she even goes against another chief expectation about femininity: she defies the feminine myth of pure skin and tattoos her body. She is construed to be wild and strong, two traits only men can have according to mainstream discourse. This mural clearly aims to create alternative discourses about femininity.



(37) Figure 6.4: Typical mural of Philadelphia 2

As a contrast, Figure 6.4 displays an all-male mural from Philadelphia. There are a bunch of similarities between the two murals: both portray just one person, there is some text accompanying the figures to help communicate the message, and the message itself is to empower and uplift a certain community. The chief difference is that murals like the one in Figure 6.4 are twice as frequent as the previous one. Especially when it comes to history, all-male murals dominate the mural scene in Philadelphia, despite the explicit effort to balance out gender equality. In the present case, the mural portrays Malcolm X – who has a number of murals within the city – while the other mural portraying a female figure is anonymous. He appears as a person with a historical significance, while she is just a woman, a random female body.

In fact, the reason why male characters so markedly outnumber female characters, both in Philadelphia and in general, is because, just like mainstream discourse, murals connect history to men, just like previous discourse link the public domain to masculinity. Murals often try to communicate their message by invoking a historical or a cultural figure, which almost always turns out to be a man; hence the dominance of all-male – typically historical or cultural – murals over all-female – more symbolic and more anonymous murals.

### 6.2.3. Europe

In Latin and North America, muralism has been a powerful tool of shaping communities and inspiring change, both political and social. Murals have been used extensively by governments, but also by subversive independent groups. Public space has been transformed into a canvas, in order for political and local leaders to communicate their views to people while giving them an aesthetic experience outside of formal frameworks.

In Europe, public art, especially large-scale muralism, is less widespread. For one, historically political messages were more often communicated through billboards (Henderson, 1980, Pásztor, 2016); for two, the main form of subversive public messaging was graffiti street art. Nevertheless, there have been some exceptional initiatives, which were typically ignited by political events. Northern Ireland, a country of political conflicts and division, has produced a fair amount of political murals since the beginning of the past century, related to its main political incidents and conflicts (Chebabi & Christia, 2008). Murals reflect on events like the civil rights march in Londonderry or the Good Friday Agreement, and generally on Northern Ireland's political-religious division, Catholicism vs Protestantism, Irish independence vs British unity. In Portugal, following the 1974 revolution, a powerful social transformation took place, which reshaped Portuguese society and urban space (Mailer, 2011). A great number of murals were created, mostly by the Communist Party which could not afford printing posters. Anyone could go out and paint the walls, which contributed to the magnitude of the mural movement – and also to the community nature and the not necessarily high quality of the murals (Mailer, 2011). The wall paintings typically portrayed the daily lives and struggles of workers and peasants, reflecting Communist ideals. The most recent large-scale public art project is the East Side Gallery in Berlin, Germany from 1990, which consists of 150 paintings on the east side of the Berlin Wall (Bahr & Schneider, 2012). The Berlin wall murals, the largest outdoor gallery of public art, were a spectacular act of international cooperation and a call for freedom and political change.

Historically, 20<sup>th</sup> century muralism in Europe is connected and limited to politics. Nevertheless, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially in the last decade, more and more mural programs take form for the purpose of addressing a wider variety of social issues and beautifying urban space. Within Hungary, cities like Budapest or Kazincbarcika, or villages like Bódvalenke or Pécsbánya offer significant public art projects. In my research, I am focusing on one urban and one rural location with a community-centered mural program.

### **6.3. Gender in the discourse of Hungarian murals**

The present analysis aims to examine the Hungarian public art discourse regarding gender, based on the scrutiny of about 60 murals collected in 2016. The locations on which my corpus is based are Bódvalenke, a village in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county and Budapest, the capital city of Hungary.

The reasons why these mural sites were selected for the examination are the following. For one, both locations have their unique significance in the Hungarian mural scene: Bódvalenke is a tiny village which is populated by Hungary's largest ethnic minority, the Roma, and thanks to European Union funds its houses are home to the largest outdoor collection of Roma art in Central Europe. Budapest, however, is a European metropolis, target of massive tourism and investments; hence its pop art scene has been emerging recently. For two, these two locations seemed different enough, and representative of the main mural trends within Hungary, to enable us to draw general tendencies and conclusions both about the genre and potentials of modern muralism and gender portrayal. Before explaining the methodology and the results of the research, I will present these two locations and programs in more detail.

#### **Bódvalenke**

Bódvalenke, a tiny village in the North-Eastern corner of Hungary, used to be like any of the neighboring villages, characterized by deep poverty, lack of infrastructure, isolation, and ethnic conflicts. Most of the inhabitants are Roma, the largest minority group in Hungary. The buildings have no running water, the closest town is 24 kilometers away; the only way to make money is seasonal work for which travel costs are so high that laborers hardly save anything. As a consequence, unemployment is high and the majority lives below subsistence level. It is not only poverty that poses a challenge, though; the Roma as an ethnic group are still discriminated against in many aspects of their lives. According to a nation-wide representative research conducted by Eötvös Loránd University, the Roma are still considered to be “criminals” and “harmful for Hungarians” by many (Konfliktuskutató, 2010).

To respond to the national issue of Romaphobia and poverty in rural areas, Eszter Pásztor, a Budapest-based activist applied for an EU grant, thanks to which the village was chosen for a project called “Bódvalenke Freskófalu” ([www.bodvalenke.eu](http://www.bodvalenke.eu)). The essence of the initiative was to invite Roma artists from Europe so they paint the walls of the village.

Roughly ten mural painters were gathered, the majority of which were from within Hungary (for example János Horváth or Rozi Csámpai), while some from neighboring countries (for example Zoran Tairović from Serbia or Bogusha Delimata from Poland). The project had a twofold goal. On the one hand, it aimed to empower the Roma community through the decoration of the houses with Roma patterns and traditional scenes. Some of the frescos address specifically local topics (“Mindennapok Bódvalenkén” / Days in Bódvalenke), while some commemorate more general, Hungarian Roma events (“A kislétai áldozatok emlékére” / For the memory of the victims of Kisléta). Note that the ethnic dimension of identity is rarely addressed in Hungarian discourses: we saw that both the media and the advertising discourse handle ethnicity as if it was white by default.

Next to the intention to bring visibility for the Roma, thus calling attention to the need for a more intersectional approach in public portrayals, the other aim of the project was to attract tourism into the village through high-level public art, thereby creating jobs for the locals. By 2016, when the present data collection took place, roughly 30 murals were painted and the project had a huge international success (Bódi, 2016). Community-level progress started but unfortunately it got halted because project funds were cut before the infrastructure could be developed for sustainable change (MárkaMonitor, 2016).

## **Budapest**

In Budapest, the capital of Hungary, murals started to appear in 2008, with the primary purpose of beautifying public space and bringing art to the streets. Since the inception of what might be called a mural movement, two main organizations have been operating in the city: Színes város ([www.szinesvaros.hu](http://www.szinesvaros.hu)) and Neopaint ([neopaint.hu](http://neopaint.hu)).

There are about a hundred murals in Budapest, most of which are located in one of the inner districts of the city called Erzsébetváros. The reason for this is twofold. For one, Erzsébetváros is the party zone, one of the main touristic areas of Budapest, which means the district has a fair budget for investments. For two, this area abounds in old houses built around the 1900s and many of them needed to be torn down, leaving behind ugly firewalls which are all but inviting for tourists (and of course locals). Since in most cases the district is the procurer, and the purpose is beautification ([mierzsebetvarosunk.blog.hu](http://mierzsebetvarosunk.blog.hu)), murals in Budapest tend to be symbolic and/or non-figurative, and less concerned with social, ethnic or political issues. Some for example address Hungarian national symbols (for instance, Rubik’s

cube or red paprika), some display natural scenes (for instance, a tree or a bird), while some visualize some practical info (for instance, the map of Budapest or that of the specific area).

Despite the scarcity of a social concern in the Budapest scene, I still call it a “mural movement,” as the tendency to decorate public places with public art has been undeniably present in Budapest in the recent years. Thanks to the peculiar characteristics of the genre, there are potentials for community benefits, thus subversive discourses, even in such a public art scene.

### **6.3.1. Methodology**

The above summary of the mural programs made it clear that both locations have their specific story, issues, and solutions, which are essential to be aware of when examining them. With the particular context in mind, we can now turn to the analysis.

The largest part of my data collection was on-site, consisting in photographing murals at these two locations. I focused on wall paintings that portray human figures. As for the numbers, the Bódvalenke corpus includes 30 murals, which means every single wall painting available in the village was recorded. Nevertheless, in Budapest, where murals are not flocked together, I have gathered 31 murals, concentrating on the primary location of Budapest murals, which is the Erzsébetváros area. That is, altogether approximately 60 murals were accessible for analysis.

The goal of the examination was to uncover the gender representation of outdoor art, comparing and contrasting it with the mainstream discourses presented in the previous chapters. To find out how subversive mural representation really is, I have conducted a multimodal CDS analysis, with quantitative and qualitative parts, just like before. In the quantitative analysis, I have included each of the murals collected at any of the locations, provided they portray at least one human figure. The goal was to get a general idea about their gender portrayal, examining distribution and composition, some of the main issues explained in the previous chapter. Then, once typical tendencies were identified, two murals were chosen for each location for a detailed qualitative analysis.

By combining quantitative and qualitative analysis the research attempted to provide a comprehensive summary of the potentials and limits of public art concerning gender in Hungarian discourses.

### **6.3.3. Quantitative results**

### 6.3.3.1. General gender distribution

To explore the state of gender distributions on murals, I added an extra step compared to the analysis I have conducted about billboards. With street art, I found it important (and plausible) to find out who was behind the specific representation; that is, who the muralist is that produced the particular wall painting, before taking a look at the actual pieces of art to which the community will be exposed. Intersectionality argues that gender, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and age, among many other factors, interact in a complex way within people's identity and contribute significantly to how one is perceived, thus, how one perceives the world (hooks, 1981; Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2000). Portrayals, therefore, are also expected to be different. I was interested to find out about the distribution of male muralists vs female muralists, revealing whether the female perspective has an equal chance to be represented or not.

In Bódvalenke I had access to the names of each of the artists. In Budapest I had adequate data about the artist(s) in the case of most of the murals. In Table 6.1, I have indicated the number of murals made by a female muralist (marked by F), the number of murals made by male muralists (M), and the number of those which were made by a team consisting of both women and men (FM). Finally, I calculated the ratio of male muralists vs female murals (M:F ratio), using the numbers under M and F, for each location.

city	portrayer - muralist			
	F	M	FM	M:F ratio
<b>Bódvalenke</b>	5	21	2	<b>4.20</b>
<b>Budapest</b>	0	26	1	~

(17) Table 6.1: The distribution of Female (F) and Male (M) muralists

What is striking on both locations is that an overwhelming number of murals have been made by men (M). In Bódvalenke 21 murals belong to male artists, compared to the 7 murals made by women or a mixed group. In the case of Budapest, none of the murals I had collected up until the start of the analysis had been realized by women and only 1 by a group of a man and a woman.<sup>23</sup> To translate the numbers into expressing proportions, the male-female ratio ended up being 4.2 in Bódvalenke and with 0 woman-made murals in Budapest the calculation could not even be made. In short, the data quantifying the mural creation process reveal a significant

<sup>23</sup> It must be added that I am aware of a couple of female muralists operating in Budapest. At the time of the data collection, I have not encountered their murals, so they did not get included. Therefore, the number of female muralists in Budapest is not zero in reality, but the proportions are still not significantly better.

imbalance of gender: the murals connected to male artists largely outnumber those done by women.<sup>24</sup>

Can we expect balanced representations if the distribution of the people behind those representations is so far from being balanced? I was interested to explore the same two questions as in the previous chapter:

- 1) Out of all the characters portrayed on the walls, how many are women (F), and how many are men (M)?
- 2) How many all-female (F) and how many all-male (M) walls are there, and how many portray *both* women and men (FM)?

In the case of both questions, I looked at the ratio as well (M:F ratio). Each of the murals that portray any human figure was included in the analysis, and, given that unlike in the case of billboards, here various locations were involved, the results were divided and summed up for each location as well.

city	mural portrayal		
	all figures portrayed		
	F	M	M:F ratio
Bódvalenke	47	50	1.06
Budapest	11	21	1.91

(18) Table 6.2: The distribution of Female (F) and Male (M) figures on murals

Altogether, male characters exceed female characters on the murals that were included in the corpus (71 vs 58). In Budapest (and generally in big cities like Philadelphia or San Diego, see Szlávi, 2018) the extent of the imbalance is significant, men outnumbering women more than twice. Refreshingly, on the murals of Bódvalenke the female and male characters are more or less the same in number, however (47 vs 50). So far, these results seem to defy the tendency we discovered in outdoor ads: for one, certain contexts manage to balance the portrayal of gendered characters; for two, it is not women who are used to “sell an idea,” but more typically men.

Why is it that on outdoor art pieces generally more men are portrayed than women? The next point of the analysis will bring us closer to the answer. It is a crucial question how often women and how often men can appear on their own, dominating their own space. To

<sup>24</sup> It must be acknowledged that this is not a Hungarian phenomenon, though. Even in a pronouncedly diverse and gender-sensitive mural program such as Philadelphia, male muralists largely outnumber female artists (Szlávi, 2018).



find out, I examined the murals also from the perspective of whether they portray only women, only men, or both.

In my corpus of Hungarian murals, the numbers were fairly low to compare all-female, all-male, and mixed-sex murals. Nevertheless, it still can be concluded that altogether murals seem to favor the display of women and men together: mixed-sex (or group) portrayals appear to be the most dominant tendency in outdoor art. All-female and all-male portrayals are much more rare (4 and 6 vs 25). Table 6.3 breaks down and displays the numbers for each location.

city	mural portrayal			
	only female / only male / both			
	F	M	FM	M:F ratio
Bódvalenke	2	2	20	1.00
Budapest	2	4	5	2.00

(19) Table 6.3: The distribution of All-Female (F) and All-Male (M) murals

If we scrutinize the ratio of all-male vs all-female murals, we can observe that once again in Bódvalenke it seems balanced, but in Budapest (and, again, big cities like Philadelphia or Tijuana, see Szlávi, 2018) there is a compelling difference: in urban locations about two times more men are painted on the walls than women. At this point it is still unclear why men can be favored more as independent subjects than women, but the qualitative analysis in the next section will clear up the reasons.

Even if the statistics of single-sex murals might not be completely balanced, we must bear in mind that they are the minority. We saw that the general tendency on both locations is that most of the murals illustrate both women and men when they portray people. Therefore, it is noticeable that there is an overall effort to portray gender in a (quantitatively) balanced way, and Bódvalenke with its socially motivated mural program does a very good job actually.

### 6.3.3.2. Composition

After identifying the general tendencies about gender distribution in outdoor art, we will now turn to the analysis of more specific issues. Out of the aspects introduced and applied in the previous chapter, I decided to focus on the issue of composition, in order to put mixed-sex murals under scrutiny. After all, the majority of the murals portray both women and men, so it is crucial to examine whether this tendency does translate to alternative discourses and gender balance. Like before, I looked at gender-specific salience and dominance, more specifically:

1) Who is in the foreground of the mural scene (thus gaining salience)?

2) Who is portrayed to be larger in size (thus appearing more dominant)?

Not unlike in the case of billboards, men are given more salience than women on mural representations too. Regarding who tends to be in the foreground of the portrayal, male figures outnumber females (17 vs 13). As Table 6.4 reveals, the tendency is that if men and women are illustrated together, men are more likely to appear in the foreground and gain a more central position. Even if men exceed women when it comes to being the main character both in Bódvalenke and Budapest, the difference is not overwhelming.

city	mural portrayal		
	interpersonal dominance: foreground		
	F	M	M:F ratio
<b>Bódvalenke</b>	8	10	1.25
<b>Budapest</b>	5	7	1.40

(20) Table 6.4: Gender and salience on murals

The other issue in question was relative size. When it comes to who is portrayed to be larger, male figures tend to get even more preference: men appear 17 times as the bigger characters, while women are illustrated so only 6 times. This translates to male characters being 3 times more often the more dominant figures than female characters.

city	mural portrayal		
	interpersonal dominance: size		
	F	M	M:F ratio
<b>Bódvalenke</b>	4	9	2.25
<b>Budapest</b>	2	8	4.00

(21) Table 6.5: Gender and relative size on murals

If we look at the sub-results for the two locations, we can see that both mural scenes construe men more often to be larger: in Bódvalenke men have spatial dominance over women 2.25 times more often, while in Budapest it is 4 times more frequent.<sup>25</sup> The above results clearly demonstrate that just because most murals portray both men and women, generally aiming for

<sup>25</sup> In an international comparison, these ratios are rather large. As I concluded in Szlávi, 2018, more large-scale programs in America (such as Philadelphia's, San Diego's or Tijuana's) also tend to illustrate men to be bigger but not as frequently as what we see on the Hungarian murals.

a quantitatively balanced illustration, in the portrayal of their relations there are still inequalities: men are construed to be more salient elements in the composition.

To sum up the quantitative results (as seen on Table 6.6 below), the analysis has so far brought to light mixed results regarding the extent of gender balance in murals. The first aspect we have looked at was the proportion of male muralists vs female muralists behind the murals in scrutiny. We have seen that the available data reveal serious imbalance regarding their gender distribution. Approximately 4 times more male muralists get to translate their world view into large-scale public art, compared to female muralists. In the case of Budapest, there was only one female artist who co-authored one of the murals in the corpus, and not one who was the only artist behind a wall painting, which is a troubling result.

Since the people behind the murals cannot authentically represent the population, one could expect that even the wall paintings and their representations of which these people are chiefly in charge would be imbalanced. First we looked at the amount of men vs women portrayed, then the ratio of all-male and all-female murals. In both cases we encountered that men generally outnumber women, whether it is about the number of characters on murals or about the number of single-sex murals. We also realized, however, that most murals that portray people do portray both women and men, aiming for gender balance. Nevertheless, when we took a closer look, we had to conclude that no matter the inclusive murals, power relations still tend to be gendered. Men are illustrated more in the foreground and larger in size, thus gaining salience and dominance over women. It has to be emphasized that in Bódvalenke, most of the results seemed to be fairly progressive regarding gender balance. It demonstrates that a program which is pronouncedly aimed at addressing and tackling social issues can succeed in portraying and normalizing identities in an intersectional way, that is, not only promoting ethnic diversity but also gender.

city	portrayer - muralist				mural portrayal													
					all figures portrayed				only female / only male / both				interpersonal dominance: foreground			interpersonal dominance: size		
	F	M	FM	M:F ratio	F	M	M:F ratio	F	M	FM	M:F ratio	F	M	M:F ratio	F	M	M:F ratio	
Bódvalenke	5	21	2	4.20	47	50	1.06	2	2	20	1.00	8	10	1.25	4	9	2.25	
Budapest	0	26	1 ~		11	21	1.91	2	4	5	2.00	5	7	1.40	2	8	4.00	

(22) Table 6.6: Gender portrayal of murals

### 6.3.4. Qualitative results

To complement and explicate the quantitative results, in the following part of the chapter I am providing a more detailed qualitative analysis of some of the murals. Given that these multimodal, or often visually monomodal, “texts” are pieces of art, I will refrain from

profound interpretations. The aim is simply to reflect on the specificities of the mural's context, genre, and location, while shedding more light on the previous quantitative findings. Given that data collection was based on the mural production of two different locations, and both locations have their unique contexts and characteristics, I found it more reasonable to pick two murals from each area, instead of, like in the previous analysis of outdoor ads, going with the examination of two pieces in total as representations of all.

The main criteria for inclusion in the qualitative analysis were that the mural should be representative of the tendencies I have previously detected about murals in general and it should also be typical of the specific location itself. A further aspect was to try to show the dualism of potential vs. limitation: namely, that murals can be – and already are – promoters of gender balance much more than mainstream discourses but there still are aspects in which they fail to embrace gender equality, as shown by the quantitative results.

### **Bódvalenke**

Looking back on the quantitative findings, we can recall that the murals of Bódvalenke performed fairly well in terms of gender balance. There were, however, two aspects in which inequality was noticeable: production and salience. Regarding production, it was the number of female muralists involved that proved to be problematic: for 5 women painters there were 21 men. In other words, gendered contexts, bodies, and roles are perceived and reproduced predominantly from a male perspective in Bódvalenke. In many of the aspects in question, representations did not appear significantly imbalanced, except in the relative size of the human characters: men appeared 2.25 times more often as the bigger – often meaning “more central” – characters. In order to gain more insight into how gender is construed in



(38) Figure 6.5: Typical mural of Bódvalenke 1

Bódvalenke's public art, I selected murals which focus on the social roles of the characters portrayed.

The first mural to be analyzed from Bódvalenke is probably the most iconic piece from the collection. The title is "A tanító" (The teacher), whose design and painting was supervised by Hungarian male artist Ferenc Kunhegyesi.

Let us first elaborate on the the group of characters that appear on the mural. Like the majority of wall paintings, the present fresco also portrays a group of people, of different genders. While there is an obvious biblical allusion, the central figure posing as Jesus is in fact there to symbolize the (gypsy) community of the village. On the one hand, it is expressed by the character's emphatically darker skin; on the other hand, by the vivid colors, typical of Roma culture, that characterize the mural. Although they appear as forming a multicolored mass, the figures in the background are actual community members, that is, individuals. As it was mentioned before, it is a great benefit, and major source of potential for subversive discourse, that public art aims to realistically portray people, not to normalize unnatural idealization, as advertising does.

We need to realize, though, that the central character is the only one which is clearly elaborated and recognizable; it is this one that is in the foreground and larger than the rest. And this character is unmistakably male. Typically, when it comes to group representations, men are more likely to gain central position, especially so if it is a cultural or a historical context, or, like in this case, when it is about leadership and power. Occupations are generally connected to male figures (see the previous chapters), which is not unlike mural portrayals: the title of the mural and the central male character is the teacher. Note that while women are defined through their family duties, men are identified through their societal roles.

Despite all this, we have to realize that from a gender perspective there are also progressive traits about this mural. Contrary to generally recognized gender roles, in this case emotions are connected to the male character. He is smiling and with open arms he is inviting us for physical contact, to be embraced. In mainstream discourse, men are rarely allowed to be sentimental, which gives a progressive and liberating feel to this mural.

The second mural I chose is titled "Asszonyok" (Women) or alternatively "Az asszonyok nagy pillanatai" (The big moments of women's lives), made by Polish female artist Bogusła Delimata. Painted by a woman, this is a woman-only mural even in its models as well. This means that in this mural women can appear on their own, not in relation to men.

Why this is relevant is because typically women tend to be defined through their relations, to men and to their family, not individually. In this case, however, women are granted to have their own space, which is not only expressed through the single-sex company but also by the environment: the background is decorated with patterns resembling women's clothing as if being one with them. In fact, Bódvalenke as a village can pride itself on having a community center, a so-called safe space, specifically for women and their children, which means that granting space for women is not just a matter of art but a matter of reality.



(39) [Figure 6.6: Typical mural of Bódvalenke 2](#)

It must be noted, however, that the activities or life situations portrayed as “typically feminine” are still fairly traditional. The woman on the left is holding a baby, while covering her hair with a veil (which is the sign of marriage). Then, one of the women in the middle seems also to be pregnant, taking advice from another woman whose hair is covered likewise. Only the figure on the right – an older woman with a walking stick – is the one that is not specified as being linked to a man (directly or indirectly). In her case, it is just the activity of carrying water, thus, doing housework, which matters.

In short, even though this mural, the only one in Bódvalenke to be dedicated solely to women and one of the few made by a woman, communicates the progressive message of giving women their own space, indirectly it still binds most of the female characters to men. Women are recognized to be individuals, but their roles are still mainly bearing children and doing housework.

## **Budapest**



Moving on to the murals in Budapest, let us start by refreshing the context and numbers. Like it was explained earlier, Budapest has a fine number of murals concentrated in the inner districts, specifically the 7<sup>th</sup> called Erzsébetváros. A feature of the murals painted in Budapest is that the majority does not portray human figures; instead, murals are generally abstract, object-oriented, text-oriented, or fantasy-like. The primary purpose of the murals is beautification, not so much to address a specific social, ethnic or racial issue; hence the little emphasis on human figures.

As for gender, we saw in the previous section that Budapest's murals are rather unbalanced. First, the number of female muralists was scarce (actually, there was only one woman among all contributors of the murals in question). Second, on the portrayals there was a consistent preference for men: regarding both the number of men vs women and the number of men-only murals vs women-only murals, men appeared to be favored twice as much as women. Concerning the murals' composition about interpersonal relations, men outnumbered women significantly too (in the case of size, their portrayal was 4 times more frequent than women's).



(40) Figure 6.7: Typical mural of Budapest 1

The first mural in scrutiny (see Figure 6.7) replicates the cover of *Time Magazine* from January 1957, which displays the “man of the year,” who is the “Hungarian freedom fighter.” To commemorate the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the revolution of 1956, this mural was made by Színes város and dedicated by the mayor of Erzsébetváros in the fall of 2016. Bearing in mind that some of the fights actually took place in this area (the mural is at the corner of Kertész Street and Wesselényi Street, in the 7<sup>th</sup> district), the location of the mural makes perfect sense.

The muralists chose this iconic press cover of internationally renowned *Time Magazine*, in the middle of which there is a man staring fiercely into the camera with his gun, while in the background we can see the Hungarian flag with the well-known hole in the middle, and two other characters, a man and a woman. Each of the three figures are dressed like everyday people, but what sets them apart is that they are equipped with a gun and the facial expression of determination and resistance, which is what makes them “freedom fighters.” The historical event of the Hungarian revolution is remembered as a heroic fight of everyday people against Soviet tanks and machine guns.

As it was noted before, historical contexts are more often connected to the domain of men. It is not a coincidence that even in this case, there must be a central character who is male, instead of two or more figures of both genders portrayed as a group, of comparable merit. The mural is not trying to commemorate this specific man but the revolution fought by many; yet, the fight – or the historical event – is symbolized by him, the “man of the year.” We have noticed that it is a general trend that when it comes to history and culture, frequent themes of murals, men significantly outnumber women, which is one key source of the general imbalance. Because of this, the present wall painting is a prime example of the above described tendency, namely, that men take central position on murals. Especially in Budapest, they are more often in the foreground and more often portrayed larger in size, just like on this mural.



(41) Figure 6.8: Typical mural of Budapest 2

Generally, as we saw in the quantitative section, gender portrayal is not very subversive in Budapest. Despite this, there are murals which do defy the mainstream gender discourse. As an example, let us observe the mural in Figure 6.8, which is an excerpt from a three-story-



high wall painting made by Neopaint's all-male team. The idea behind this mural is to decorate a firewall as if it was a building in use. The ground floor level is a grocery store, then there are two people on a balcony, then a cat and a pigeon are posing on the second floor, and two construction workers are engaged in work on the third. We will be focusing on the grocery store scene.

In here women are portrayed as active and independent protagonists, contrary to their usual "supporting role" in traditional representations. They appear in an everyday situation, both in terms of their activity and their outfit. Not only is it that there is no male character to put them in relation, neither does their appearance – not in compliance with the usual body politics – invoke the male gaze. Women are not related to or defined through men, neither directly nor indirectly. They seem to be caught engaged in their activities, not posing for an outside spectator. It is not only the lack of strict beauty standards which is obvious and liberating but the fact that age and size are more loosely censored. In the middle we see an older, slightly overweight woman standing cheerfully, which is a clear manifestation of alternative gender discourses.

It is interesting to note the differences in gender portrayal between an urban context and a rural context. In Bódvalenke, a small village in the countryside, the woman-only mural which was to present women's activities (Figure 6.2) listed child-bearing and housework only, while in Budapest, the urban capital of the country, the above presented mural offers a very different definition of feminine activities. Keeping intersectionality in mind, we realize that women living in the countryside, Roma women, low income women, older women, women who do not care about traditional beauty standards, etc., also exist – despite what mainstream discourses make us believe – and public art can give them voice.

## **6.4. Closing remarks**

Unlike mainstream discourses, outdoor art – specifically community muralism – is used and produced not primarily to reinforce hegemonic power relations. Instead, murals often serve exactly the opposite goal: to mend social, ethnic, local, or national issues. My examination looked at approximately 60 murals, in two very different locations within Hungary, from the perspective of their gender representation. I was interested to see whether and how gender inequality is addressed and balanced out by murals, overtly or covertly. Is the usual dichotomy and stereotypes (of characteristics, roles, and functions) used and normalized like

in mainstream discourses? The quantitative analysis scrutinized the gender distribution of both the muralists behind the mural representations (“subjects”) and the figures on the murals (“objects”). Despite the optimistic expectations stemming from the fundamentally community-sensitive nature of murals, it turned out that the reality is still somewhat far from the desired gender balance. For one, male muralists largely outnumber female muralists; for two, male figures are also overrepresented on the murals themselves. It is not only that generally there are more men on the walls than women, but it is also that there are more all-male murals than all-female, especially when it comes to historical or cultural contexts. It seems the public-private dichotomy cannot escape the gender portrayal of public art either.

Despite the above discrepancy, murals do aim to embrace gender equality and defy social stereotypes. For example, the majority of murals portray figures of both genders, and mixed murals display mild to moderate imbalance in power relations (regarding centrality and size), which is much better than in mainstream discourses. Furthermore, in the qualitative analysis it was pointed out that next to the disproportionate gender distribution, murals do allow for more diversity and intersectionality when it comes to portraying people. The social and behavioral roles are less rigorously set; the genders are more loosely defined. Community art, however imperfect, just as the community behind it, has the potential to be a powerful tool to rewrite discourse and offer alternative narratives, in the Hungarian context too.

## Chapter 7: Conclusions

The dissertation aimed to reveal how gender is construed in contemporary Hungarian discourses, through the critical discourse analysis of language use, media, advertising, and public art. The examination attempted to provide a comprehensive overview of the dominant gender stereotypes, as pillars of gender inequality, in present-day Hungarian language and culture.

The gender situation in Hungary has been significantly worsening over the past decade. The Hungarian government has recently shut down its only state-funded Master's program in Gender Studies and it has waged war against institutes and scholars researching gender and minority issues, even if the gender gap in Hungary has doubled in the last decade (The Gender Gap Index 2017). Therefore, the systematic and extensive exploration of what might be the discursive bases of gender inequality appeared highly urgent and relevant, especially because, to the best of my knowledge, such a cross-discursive examination has not been made for the Hungarian context. One of the main merits of the dissertation is, therefore, that it addresses a socially relevant and pressing issue in a critical and comprehensive way.

The analysis of the diverse discourses was linked by the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), whose essence is to uncover how discourse – imbued by ideology – (re)produces social inequalities (O'Halloran, 2014: 239). Considering the specificities of the different discourses, I selected the most appropriate CDS method for each analysis. For the examination of national language use, in Chapter 3 I applied a corpus based discourse analysis based on Baker et al. (2008), in order to marry the reliability of big-data examinations, as in corpus linguistic analysis, and the complexity of contextual-discursive scrutiny, as in the discourse analysis of the upcoming chapters. In Chapters 4-6, I examined highly image-focused discourses such as media, but even more so advertising and muralism, for which I employed multimodal (verbal, visual, etc.) discourse analysis. By doing so, I fulfilled the urge of several CDS scholars (Wodak, 2009; Machin & Mayer, 2012; van Leeuwen, 2014) not to get satisfied with focusing on verbal language only, which is still a scarcity in the field. Consequently, another merit of the dissertation lies in its methodology: multimodal analyses are emphatically important if we are to more fully understand contemporary discourses.

Consequently, the dissertation has managed to address socially and methodologically significant issues in an interdisciplinary, but consciously integrated, manner, intending to find answers to three main research questions. Each of them will be explicated in the following section.

The first research question was:

1) How is femininity and masculinity construed in Hungarian language and discourses?

In other words, initially, I was interested to see what I find in the specific corpora, separately, regarding gender. We could expect and indeed notice that the given discourses construe gender in slightly different ways. It is the Theory of Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), explained in detail in Chapter 2, that can account for these peculiarities. Gender is just one dimension of identity, which intersects with other dimensions, such as ethnicity, social class, or age. Therefore, the “woman,” or the “man,” of the specific discourses appear to be a bit (or in the last chapter, a lot) different from each other exactly because their identities are not one-dimensional.

As mentioned before, the analysis started with the examination of national language use in order to reveal general tendencies before going into discourse-specific conclusions. The analysis of MNSz, the Hungarian National Corpus (in Chapter 3) uncovered a significant quantitative imbalance regarding the occurrences of the main gender lemmas. FÉRFI (man) appeared much more often than NŐ (woman) in the whole of the corpus and in most of its sub-corpora, underlining man’s primary significance. In the “Press” sub-corpus, which contains texts from the news, the male lemmas (FÉRFI and PASI) highly outnumbered the female lemmas; those in turn were more numerous represented in the “Personal” sub-corpus, which comprises of private discussions like forum chats. The “public is masculine” and the “private is feminine” dichotomy is undoubtedly reproduced in language use.

When it comes to what adjectives the gender lemmas are most frequently correlated with, the distinction is once again obvious. NŐ and CSAJ are most often attributed with appearance-related adjectives, such as “beautiful,” “pretty,” “blonde” or “sexy,” in short, they are labeled with evaluative and permanent “identification” terms, mirroring the male gaze. FÉRFI and PASI, on the contrary, receive much more “functionalization” terms, like adjectives referring to a state or an activity, such as “drunk” or “smoking,” which are emphatically more temporary labels, thus, less part of one’s “identity.”

Finally, the examination of generic statements connected to the gender lemmas pointed out that women are more subject to generalizations; quantitatively speaking, “minden nő” (every woman...) statements highly outnumbered those of “minden férfi” (every man...). Once again, the “right way” of doing femininity (vs doing masculinity) gets much more attention and regulation. The main domains of what “every woman” is interested in are: appearance, shopping, and motherhood. Masculinity, on the other hand, seemed to be less uniformly represented; as a matter of fact, the most attention was given to his ambivalent relation to women, not so much what he *is*.

Language use, thus, appears to normalize the binary conception of gender and the generic male perspective. To femininity it assigns appearance, beautification, the personal domain, and a passive role in (heterosexual) relationships. To masculinity it connects less personal than public attributes and roles, while underlining his active participation, in the world and in heteronormative relationships.

In Chapter 4 media discourse was put under scrutiny, which consisted in the analysis of lifestyle magazines. What the research first and foremost unveiled was the emphatic separation and distinction of the genders within this discourse. Women’s magazines (a genre that has existed and flourished for a long time) are strikingly uniform. At the same time, men’s magazines, which constitute a relatively new phenomenon, define themselves *against* women’s magazines. The differences between the two kinds of magazines stand both in their function and relationship with their target audiences (women or men respectively), and in their image of them (femininity and masculinity, respectively). Women’s magazines conceptualize themselves as their readers’ confidential friends, with whom they form a community, and as such they are entitled to give advice to them based on this (alleged) emotional connection. As opposed to this, men’s magazines – a group of experts – provide “informative content,” not advice, since men are construed as strong and independent, thus not in need of advice. Of course the very existence of men’s lifestyle magazines is in contradiction with this traditional view; nevertheless, on the discursive level the dissonance of giving advice to a man without questioning his masculinity is still explicitly compensated for. For example, the authority of men’s magazines does not come from an emotional bond, but from their (alleged) expertise and professionalism; men are construed to make decisions – and follow advice – based on reason.

As for the magazine’s image of femininity and masculinity, it is also immensely different. The main ways of doing femininity, according to women’s magazines, are

consciously and actively caring for their appearance. Women are not supposed to be interested in profound or serious (or public) topics, as the content of the magazines reveal. Regarding relationships, which of course are heterosexual, women are urged to be independent and please themselves, which is a seemingly progressive postfeministic conception of female agency, but discursively women are still assigned to a passive, not at all agentive role, because “men will do the work.” Masculinity is represented in a less uniform way: men are construed to be interested in a vast number of topics, from technology and cars, through politics and economy, to culture and sports. In fact, we can identify conflicting discourses in lifestyle magazines: on the one hand, men are urged to be caring, about themselves, their partners, and the world, or to be comfortable showing weakness or hesitation, which is definitely a more progressive view of masculinity; on the other hand, it is still a dominant part of the discourse to define manliness through physical strength, (heterosexual) sex and conquest, having an active role in the public sphere, and generally, to be the agent of the activity.

Altogether, then, media discourse reinforces heteronormative and binary gender roles. Femininity is normalized as being all about the body and looks; women make decisions based on their emotions, they are passive in their relationships even if they are encouraged to embrace their own pleasure. Masculinity, on the other hand, appears in plural: according to one prevalent discourse the man is driven by reason and logic; strength and determination. According to another, he can be confused, weak, and hesitant, needing advice. What is common, though, is a wide range of (possible and available) interests, from the public domain and high culture, which once again obviously underlines a gender-based hierarchy.

Moving on to the results regarding the gender representation of the advertising discourse (Chapter 5), I have to first point out that this is the only discourse where women are quantitatively more dominant than men. The majority of billboards illustrate at least one woman (and no man); that is, femininity is visually overrepresented in advertising. Typically, female characters on billboards appear alone and decontextualized: their role is to pose, that is, to offer their bodies for consumption. They rarely have a “public” function like an occupation or an agentive share in the activity on display; they are illustrated in private-personal distance which invites the viewer for a thorough scrutiny of her body. Women, first and foremost, appear as symbols of the product advertised, and as such, they themselves become consumable, objectified.

In opposition, men are represented in context and in company (for example, the company of women, children or other men). They are typically larger and more central than women, and they are the main agents of the activities. More often than women, men are portrayed to have occupations, being managers, athletes or celebrities among others, and since they appear in public distance, their role rather than their body is emphasized. While women are frequent metaphors of products such as a dress, men tend to symbolize services or service providers such as a financial loan.

In sum, advertising discourse upholds the idea of binary gender: femininity is equated with the (female) body, scrutinized from a private-intimate distance and offered for consumption. Women are normalized to be passive; rarely agents of activities. Masculinity, on the contrary, is exactly about that: manliness is not at all about the body but it is about the activity. Men appear as active, in motion, in charge of things, viewed from public distance and placed within the public sphere. The implications of what female vs male characters typically symbolize are also telltale: as usual metaphors of products, women are offered to “be purchased,” while men, as metaphors of services, are conceptualized as those that “enable us to do something.”

Finally, the construction of gender in the discourse of public art, specifically murals (Chapter 6) paints a mixed picture. On the one hand, we can identify obvious attempts of creating alternative discourses that mend social inequality, like that of gender: for example, most of the murals portray both women and men, aiming for mutual visibility. On the other hand, the numbers are still not completely balanced: men outnumber women both when it comes to the muralists behind the representation and to the figures represented. For example, all-male murals are much more frequent than all-female, especially in historical-cultural contexts. The portrayal of femininity and masculinity is comparably mixed too: we can notice some of the usual gender stereotypes, such as men are portrayed as independent and defined by their public roles, while women are illustrated with supportive or symbolic functions and linked most to private relationships. At the same time, alternative representations are not uncommon either: women can be both strong and feminine and men can be both caring and masculine. In addition, ethnicity can at last appear hand in hand with gender: contrary to mainstream discourses, public art representation does not take ethnicity to be self-evidently white. In sum, community murals appear to go against some of the entrenched stereotypes.

After the summary of how the given discourses construe gender, we have to move on to answering the second questions, which aims to bring the findings together, pointing out the overlaps. It goes like this:

**2) Which are the specific characteristics, roles, and domains that are invariably associated with femininity and with masculinity throughout the examined discourses?**

The first result that bridges language use and the different discourses is that they all construe gender as a binary category which naturally, logically, and necessarily divides people into men and women, and features, domains, and roles into masculine and feminine. Another recurring trait was heteronormativity, that is, the automatic interpretation of relationships to be heterosexual, between a woman and a man. What is more, it is heteronormativity which entails that features, domains, and roles are assigned to people based on their reproductive function: for instance, since in a heterosexual relationship a woman is assumed to give birth, the private space is assigned to femininity and the public space to masculinity.

As a matter of fact, this dichotomy was also reproduced in each of the discourses: men tend to be construed through their public roles and functions, while for women intimacy and private matters are viewed to be more of a concern. Furthermore, passiveness and emotions seem to be invariably assigned to femininity, while activeness and reason to masculinity. Both in intimate relationships, which is supposed to be a feminine terrain, and public activities, which is masculine, men are unfailingly assigned to the active, agentive, dominant role.

Finally, the strict regulation of the female body – through the emphatic and excessive focus on feminine appearance – is another pervasive component in the gender construction of each discourse. Women are expected not only to express their femininity, satisfying the male gaze, but also to embrace their independence or experience pleasure, satisfying themselves, through scrutinizing and fixing their bodies. Regulation is construed as self-regulation, an internal and intrinsic need of the woman, thus leaving little space for contesting it.

The research aimed not only to reveal the complex and subtle ways in which inequality is discursively reproduced and normalized but also to find alternative gender representations which can challenge hegemonic gender roles. The third research question of the dissertation was concerned with this aspect:

**3) Are there (effective) alternative discourses about gender in Hungarian language and culture?**



The inclusion of community murals in the examination of discourse, following the analysis of mainstream discourses, was expected to provide answers to this question. Community art, pronouncedly used for the benefit of the community, offered itself as a promising means to undermine mainstream discourses. The analysis revealed that partly it indeed does. As opposed to the conspicuous quantitative imbalance we noticed in the national corpus (Chapter 3) and in advertising (Chapter 5), or the emphatic gender-based separation of spaces in magazines (Chapter 4), murals appear to consciously aim for balanced and joint gender representations. The majority of wall paintings display “people,” both men and women. When it comes to the visual-verbal representation of female and male characters, there seem to be much less and much looser rules. For one, the figures are actual community members, that is, real people, not symbols or idealized models. For two, the appearance and the function of the characters are less definitive and binary; for example, a figure can be both muscular and feminine, while another can be both emotional and masculine. For three, intersectional portrayals are not uncommon: both regarding ethnicity and sexuality. Roma characters and non-heteronormative settings, like lesbian or gay couples and groups, appear on murals as well, which is not the case in the other discourses. At the same time, the question also meant to investigate whether the identified alternative discourses about gender are effective or not. While clearly not free of hegemonic gender relations, community art has proven to be worthy of (academic and social) attention. Therefore, next to its merit regarding theme selection and methodology, the third main achievement of the dissertation is its introduction of murals, a seldom researched subject matter, into the academic discussion.

Murals offer powerful alternatives and have the potential to normalize a more diverse construction of (not just gender, but also ethnic or sexual) identity. Why is that relevant at all? In today’s late-modern or postmodern era, society is less obsessed with predetermining precedents such as customs and traditions than before, thus leaving more space for individual choice. People, especially in Western societies, have much greater freedom than their ancestors living in pre-modern times, to shape their lives and their identities. However, with the freedom comes the stress of having much less guidelines about how to behave and how to define themselves (Giddens, 1991). Therefore, in post-traditional societies, identity is fluid and reflexive, and its formation is highly influenced by external narratives produced by ideology and normalized by discourse.

Language use, popular culture, and advertising construct meaning by producing, representing, and offering narrative roles and identities for consumption. The greatest value of

the current research is, in fact, that thanks to its comprehensive cross-discursive analysis, it uncovered very similar gender representations in the different discourses, which in turn reveals the very existence of an omnipresent – and nearly inescapable – ideology controlling gender in Hungary. We have to note, however, that, as Crenshaw (1993) puts it, “[t]he most pressing problem (...) is not the existence of the categories, but rather the particular values attached to them and the way those values foster and create social hierarchies” (1297).

Such a uniform and evidently hierarchical construction of gender has several significant implications. On the personal level, it undeniably exposes that defining or living one’s (gender) identity is far from being an individual choice. It is easy to blame individual women who buy tons of beauty creams, undergo plastic surgeries, and starve themselves, saying it is their choice. In the same manner, it is comfortable to label individual men who catcall, stalk or rape women, as being the bad apples of society. Nevertheless, the truth is – while individual accountability cannot be denied – it is hardly just one person’s responsibility if all we are exposed to, from language use through media to advertising, that women must be thin, flawless, and young to be feminine (and, thus, themselves), and men must be sex-driven, assertive, and strong to be masculine (and, respectively, themselves).

On the social level, the pervasive ideology controlling gender uncovered by the discourse analyses helps us better understand the exacerbating gender situation in present-day Hungary, one of the worst in the EU. On the one hand, it is hardly a coincidence that the female representation in the Hungarian Parliament is as low as in Iran or Congo (Orbán, 2017), considering that Hungarian discourses have been revealed to assign the public sphere, and activity in general, to men. On the other hand, the low number of women in academia – for example, female scholars make up only about 1% of the members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the approximately 190 years of its operation – are logical consequences of an ideology that pervasively connects rationality and rigor, bases of scientificity, to men.

The fact that the government has shut down academic programs and institutions that would reflect on the notion and implications of gender (Huszár, 2018) only promises to make things even more exasperating. Therefore, research projects such as the present one, have a huge responsibility and relevance. On the one hand, they need to assist in and facilitate critical thinking in general and the critical reading of gendered texts in particular. On the other hand, they need to help discover and create alternative and pronouncedly intersectional representations of identity, for example on community murals.

The present dissertation, examining the social concept of gender, was inescapably and pronouncedly social and political, which is what CDA research must be. A recurring doubt against CDA as a methodology is whether overtly political research can be objective and scientific (Widdowson, 1995). Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) point out, however, that the very issue of scientific neutrality is problematic, as all knowledge is socially and historically constructed. This way, not only overly political research is what is actually “political.” By applying quantitative methods, next to the qualitative-contextual analysis, and by using several discourses as my corpora, I attempted to balance out potential biases and guarantee as much objectivity as possible; in short, to prevent such a criticism, while fulfilling the CDA’s call to address and critically assess a crucial social issue.

Due to length constraints, the dissertation could not address more than the current four discourses or compare it with international samples. A future goal can be to extend the analysis to other, mainstream or alternative, discourses in Hungary, and to put them in intercultural observation. Furthermore, the exploration of the promising mural discourse could be broadened too. Budapest’s mural production is increasing year by year, with the involvement of female muralists as well. Other locations, such as urban Kazincbarcika or rural Pécsbánya, would deserve academic and social attention too, so we can gain a more nuanced and complex view of how alternative discourses are shaping the representation of Hungarian (gender, or generally) identities. Because, even if the gender gap – and the underlying sexism – is severe in Hungary, there are ways to challenge it. And academic research is there (also) to help, by exploring and discussing it.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: 200-piece random sample of NŐ (“woman”) lemma

lavi

korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 346321 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta

oldalszám: 1 / 10

Ugrás

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alatt aludtál akkor mint egy gyerek s a ruhát vesz magának - mondta a másodoszfor a kereskedelemhez . Feszítsd le a litván tények . </p><p> A ZEBANGOO-néger elhajtatja a hólyagocskák . Mennyi finom tapintat lakik is egy </p><p> Odanyújtottam az erszényt . </p><p> A nem azt mondatja velünk , hogy tisztelt </sp> <sp who="spiro00036.no"> <speaker> kell ! " gúnyolt barátom : " Máris ő ! A állította össze ábrázolmányát a világ első tudta , hogy a zene hat -e rá vagy ez a Pistikét választja , aki el is mondja : alul a </p><p> A Billings módszernél mit vizsgál a pl. egy férfi inkább szentimentális , egy nagyobb súlyú babák születnek azoknál a dominánsabb személyiségek . Mindenesetre az okos a csajok , ugyanis ha egy átlagos alkátú foglalkoztam . Pszichológusok mesélték , hogy a beszélőszókat tesz , csúnyább elestebb lenni , mély barátságot kötni , ne adj isten

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Épen se hánytorgj szív- s jobb oldalod felé . - Új ruhát és új cipőt vesz magára minden magzatát . </p><p> ZEBANGOO felfogás ! Ezt még meg is inni ?? Teljék be illatával kicsipegette a magát , mint valami kezes és tisztelt férfiak , hanem ennél valamivel kell ! azt lesi , pokliát felejtve , a tündért férfifodrászáról munkában . </p><p> Még aztán cseperedett fruska , de érezte , amint , felül a férfi . Mire Mórícka : Száz , ( , vagy férfi ) ? A méhszáj nyitottságát pedig inkább azt szeretné , ha csak röviden el tudja hitetni a férfival , hogy ő csak jó testet akar , akkor elég ha napi 30 2-3D látása/memóriája gyengébb a férfiakénál finoman , óvatosan bántik . Ennek oka a szerezni stb. Ezért mentem el a saját teljes

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Ugrás

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találatok száma: 346321 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta

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Ugrás

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tartott- topic-nyitásai ( Miért anyagiasság a melóval . 5 nővel dolgozom és 14 fiúval . A annak mi az értelme ? Sokkal jobb Egy hálás szertint a meddőség okozói fele-fele arányban a + értelmes is . Azonban szerintem ilyen mesterségesen a " megvilágosodást " . A bolygódon mi-zujs ? Ekkora lelkivilága csak egy az Egyesült Államok elnökének tisztét egy az anyagi helyzetnek is . A férfiak és <p> A Kakuik a maga kötetlen stílusában a munkákat kapják . Ennek okai : az előítélet , a Talán az a spanyol , aki annyira szereti a Flowers , továbbá névtelenségben maradó életképes magzatokat abortálnak . A többség a zúzták a Budai Téglát </head> <p> EXTRALIGA , elsőbbséget , tehát az orvos segít . Ha a az öngyilkossági kísérletek gyakoribbak a ennek során a közvetítő arra biztatta a <p> Abban , hogy a világ jelentős részén a nem örülne az effajta képsoroknak : " a

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zlavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 346321 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>	oldalszám: 7 ▼ / 10	<a href="#">Ugrás</a> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>
doc#1608	megegyezik . Az öngyilkosságot elkövető	nők száma Dél-Koreában a legnagyobb - 100 000
doc#1610	politikához , és nagyon energikus , életteli	nő volt . " Gyönyörű , eleven nő volt , aki
doc#1611	<p> Kurtizánok és prostitúáltak </p><p> Brit	nők </p><p> Olaszország történelme </p><p> Táncművészek
doc#1613	Streisanddal találkozgatott . </p><p> 1973-ban vette	nőül Rita Coolidge énekesnőt , akitől egyetlen
doc#1613	egy elhagyatott házhoz vezet . Miután a	nőnek egy fura kinézetű kislány nyit ajtót ,
doc#1614	Sikereikhez az utóbbi években a kalendzsin	nők is elkezdtek felzárkózni , Mindezt egysesek
doc#1617	teniszezők </p><p> Ausztrál teniszezők </p><p> Cseh	nők </p><p> Ausztrál nők </p><p> 1962-ben született
doc#1622	ruházata egyszerű , mint más falvakban , a	nők öltözte csipkés , úrias szabású : harisnyát
doc#1625	rendőrök jeleztek neki , hogy álljon meg . A	nő azzal magyarázta , hogy azt hitte a Kész
doc#1629	operaénekesek </p><p> Szopránok </p><p> Magyar	nők </p><p> 1969-ben született személyek </p> <opener>
doc#1641	<p> Férfiak </p><p> Férfi éremtáblázat </p><p>	Nők </p><p> Női éremtáblázat </p><p> Jegyzetek </p>
doc#1645	és rabszolgai elnyomást kér egy gyönyörű	nőtől . A homoszexuális és a heteroszexuális
doc#1657	örökös félelemben élnek - , kirekesztik a	nőket a kereső foglalkozásokból , mert úgy vélik
doc#1662	1976-ban született személyek </p><p> Kolumbiai	nők </p> <opener> <dateline> <date ISO8601="2014-01-03T19:35:58Z">
doc#1671	. Van olyan ország , ahol nem nézhet egy	nő a férfi szemébe , még akkor sem , hogyha
doc#1693	egy 62 éves és 41 éves , anyja és lánya	nőt . </p><p> A feltételezés szerint bántalmazásba
doc#1697	Szociális ápoló , meglátom még . </p><p>	Nő . : - Szeptember 13-a óta dolgozom itt
doc#1703	integrációban játszott szerepéért vehette át a Bátor	Nők díját az amerikai külügyminisztertől <hi rend="it">
doc#1703	Torontóból Karchiba tartott , amikor egy	nő felhívta a kanadai rendőrséget és közölte
doc#1712	vényköteles gyógyszer . A 37 és 41 éves	nő , illetve 18 éves férfítársuk szűdni kezdtek
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>	oldalszám: 7 ▼ / 10	<a href="#">Ugrás</a> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>

lavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 346321 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>	oldalszám: 8 ▼ / 10	<a href="#">Ugrás</a> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>
doc#1712	kerestek egy magyar nőt is , egy budapesti	nő ugyanis azt írta a római konzulátusnak
doc#1715	A New Scientist című folyóirat újságíró	nője olyan cégekre bukkant , egyik Amerikában
doc#1723	jogerősen öt év börtönrre ítélték azt a bajai	nőt , aki gyógyszerekkel mérgezte meg gyermekeit
doc#1735	hoztak létre , melynek semmi köze a valódi	nőkhöz , de még a szupermodellekhez sem . </p> <opener>
doc#1736	Valami még rettentően hiányzott . Nélküle a	nő még mindig nem tudná elviselni a férfinak
doc#1736	filmjében egy szeretőjével beszélő , kiborult	nőt játszik . </p> <opener> <dateline> <date ISO8601="2013-07-05">
doc#1739	Lejjebb ereszkedik , lenn a földön meglát egy	nőt , és odakiált hozzá : - Elnézést , tudna
doc#1745	fiam , hogy ott él benne a lélek ! Mert a	nő szerelme a lelkéből fakad ! Három kör egymás
doc#1751	, szekrény újra szétesik . Gondolkodik a	nő , mit csináljon . Becsönget a szomszéd
doc#1752	támogatására lenne szükségünk , hogy a polgármester	nő lássa mennyi ember szeretne újra a Mélygödörben
doc#1756	agyon egy 80 éves férfit . Békés - 58 éves	nőt ölt meg egy cigány . Nagydorog - idős embert
doc#1758	Idézetek a Lélek Szemével Nők vagyunk ...	NŐK vagyunk . Vannak napok , amikor megtörünk
doc#1759	bízson meg bennem , én gentleman vagyok . A	nő végül ad szállást . Másnap reggel a férfi
doc#1759	ugyanolyan félelmek , gátlásaik vannak , mint a	nőknek , s ők is tudnak igazán mélyen szeretni
doc#1771	Nincs más hátra , férfiak : adjátok meg a	nőknek , amire vágnak . Mert különben nézhettek
doc#1772	, a többiek elfutnak , a rendőrök meg a	nőt igazoltatják , és a többiek után nem futnak
doc#1774	Tamás </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Rajtam a	nők nevetnek folyton , ezért a búmat borba
doc#1784	ház udvarán , ahonnan az ott vendégeskedő	nőt - egyikük korábbi élettársát - megpróbálták
doc#1785	mond , mit tegyek ? Vegyek el egy bomba jó	nőt , aki egész életemben megcsal fűvel-fával
doc#1786	</byline> <p> Anyámtól tanultam , aki bölcs	nő volt , az élet ismerője . Főleg a női lét
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>	oldalszám: 8 ▼ / 10	<a href="#">Ugrás</a> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>

lavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 346321 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>	oldalszám: 9 ▼ / 10	<a href="#">Ugrás</a> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>
doc#1787	</opener> <byline> <docAuthor> Negyvenes	nő </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Először azért
doc#1793	Micsanek </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Szerettem egy	nőt aki gazdag volt , én szegény emberként
doc#1805	tönkretesz a kapcsolatot . Ahogy a férfi és a	nő különbözök és mégis egyenjogúak , úgy
doc#1807	Még márciusban tett bejelentést egy tompai	nő , hogy 21 éves unokája eltűnt . A Kiskunhalasi
doc#1816	tüneteket " , a kérdés már csak az , hogy a	nők feletti dominanciájuk valódi , netán csak
doc#1823	kérdezi a kislíú az édesanyját . - Mert én	nő vagyok - válaszolta az asszony . - Ezt
doc#1825	hír számotokra : a fent leírt tökéletes	nő létezik !!! Mégpedig pontosan ott , ahol
doc#1832	leszel önmagad . Ez különösen érvényes a	nőkre , főleg a család vonatkozásában . Társadalmunkban
doc#1833	egyedül is felnevelem őt . " NEHÉZ A TÖRÖK	NŐK SORSA ? A színésznő-ahogyan már mi is említettük-a
doc#1834	megfogta a lány kezét . - Maga gyönyörű	nő . - Köszönöm - húzta ki zavartan a lány
doc#1843	legtöbb pontot összegyűjtő 3-3 férfi és	nő részesül díjazásban . Várható versenyidő
doc#1844	párnacsaták voltak . szóval ha adódik egy 40 50 es	nő ( milf , akármí ) és a gatyádat tépné lefele
doc#1852	halcan Beckett . -- Tudom a cápák - sügta a	nő fülehez közel Rick , és lágyan végighúzta
doc#1875	Egyidőben a Túrós Emil és Túrós Lukács könyvei a	nők számára olyan " biblia " volt , mint később
doc#1876	</byline> <p> Szeptember 23-ától a FEM3-on Őt	nő . Őt életstílus . Egy azonban közös bennük
doc#1876	hogy milyen kötelességtudóak gyerekekkel és	nőkkel ( nem mindegyikkel ) szemben , és milyen
doc#1877	Képernyő : Nők pisztollyal " Ki mondta , hogy a	nők a gyengébbik nem ? " - kérdezi tőlem a
doc#1885	nő volt . Feltűnt neki , hogy a házvezető	nő kezein három illetve négy gyönyörű ékszer
doc#1886	2009 és 2011 között a két , 67 és 47 éves	nő több millió forintot kárt okozott . Több
doc#1890	tünetei . Egy vizsgálat során azoknál a	nőknél , akik 18 hónapon keresztül ómega-3 zsírsavakat
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>	oldalszám: 9 ▼ / 10	<a href="#">Ugrás</a> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>

## Appendix 2: 200-piece random sample of FÉRFI (“man”) lemma

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korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 643318 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta			
oldalszám:	1 ▾ / 10	Ugrás	<a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>
doc#134	az akácot a maga mivoltában lássam ;	férfi	és a női princípiumnak ugyanez a polaritása
doc#191	a csomaggal feltűnt a kopott , rövid hajú	férfi	, s mivel ez volt a legközéletibb árnyék
doc#264	<p> - A bevót kezelni kell . Szép tartású	férfi	, uram . De aranyos hangja van , asszonyom
doc#370	mert te nem tudsz meglenni egy napig sem	férfi	nélkül . </p><p> - Ejnye - mondta Áraber
doc#370	változásban levő lelkületével úgy érezte : egy	férfi	magának fontosabb ... </p><p> - És ha fontosabb
doc#677	Éannát . Egyenként állítja őket a kijelölt	férfiak	mellé . A lányok tálcan üvegkupában bort
doc#693	el első férjétől , attól a szőke , vékony	férfitől	, aki aztán rövidesen meg is halt , hát
doc#955	történet : A no kérdezi a fétit : szeretsz ? A	férfi	nem válaszol . A no újra kérdez : szeretsz
doc#960	nok nyilván külön-külön monogámok , míg a	férfi	promiszkuus . Hasonló tehát a helyzet ,
doc#960	játszma , mely a nőknél , mármint , hogy két	férfi	is belvíllongásba , " megmutatom ki is
doc#961	és a férfiak igenis különbözök . Vannak	férfi	és női szerepek , de ezek nem igazán a
doc#972	hozzányulnók . Lehetésges , de szerintem a	férfiak	is egyet értenek vele , hogy majdnem lehetetlen
doc#976	-Mert ötven köbcenti alatt nem kell . És a	férfiakon	? -Miért , a Forma-1-es autókban talán van
doc#976	már a befőtött tegye el a nagymamát ! Öntelt	férfiak	... vegyetek már vissza az arcotokból !
doc#991	leírhatatlan . Van még a másik elmsége is a	férfiaknak	: a " Hol lehet ilyen csúcsos pólot venni
doc#1001	annyit mindenképp el kell ismerni hogy a	férfi	és a nő ( ABC sorrend :)) teljesen másképp
doc#1002	eszembe jut . Az egyik az , hogy ezeknek a	férfiaknak	közel a fele nem is volt magyar származású
doc#1002	Kommentár : 1 . Szomorú vagyok a fiatal	férfiak	fizikai-egészségi kondíciójának gyatra állapotota
doc#1033	máltai , amerikai ) útleveáll rendelkező	férfi	személyazonosságának kiderítése is nagy
doc#1034	televízió vezetőjét </head> <p> Három álarcos	férfi	előtette tegnap a palesztin rádió és televízió
oldalszám:	1 ▾ / 10	Ugrás	<a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>

avi korpusz: MNSZ2	
korpusz: MNSZ2	
találatok száma: 463318 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta	
első   előző	oldalszám: 2 / 10 Ugrás következő   utolsó
doc#1036	kétszer annyi nő kap csak minimálbért, mint férfi , és Luxemburgban sem sokkal jobb az arány tegnap este , menekülés közben elfogták azt a férfit , aki társával együtt fegyveresen megtámadta Hollandia déli részén egy kisfiút és egy idős férfit sebített halálra egy hatalmas faág , egy öröklése szerint a szerencsétlenül járt férfit , aki az ország egyik legtapasztaltabb utcai fiókját a déli órákban . Az ismeretlen férfit bánja , hogy itt kötelezte el magát . " a férfiak </p><p>A Pest megyei csapatok eredményei . Férfiak : 26 . Sandy Banda Szigetmonostor , 38 védekezését , miszerint önvédelemből ölt meg egy férfit , és sebesített meg egy másikat június 28-án Célt vesztett , tévlenségre kárthatott férfiak és nők Európa-szerte , világszerte . Mit , amelyen egy bérnyilkost bíznak meg egy férfit megölésével , a rendőrök megtalálták Clodo aki a kis áldozat bébiszittere volt , a férfival pedig szerelmi viszonyban állt . </p><p> . A magyar pincérnő felvette kocsijába a férfit , aki a település határában kérte , hogy viszont arra , hogy a két nőt vagy a két férfit hivatalosan házasságnak vagy élettársaknak később , 1945 februárjában a munkaképes férfit lakosság egy részének összegyűjtésére és házas , 2 ház nélküli szellem , 22 felnőtt férfit , 4 leány ( 16 évnel idősebb ) , 11 rokon Kovács . </p><p>Kótor - az egyik Kovács család férfit és nőtagjainak m - e , eredetétők maguk felbukkant az izraeli Ramat-Avivban egy gazdag férfit , Giora Szináj , alias Zemplényi György harcoltak ; a nő a gyerekeért . </p><p>A férfit életének középpontja a legritkább esetben mellette , az ágyak vasvázára állva egy öregebb férfit épp az elburjánzott vízinövényeket ritkítja halálórási szám , és különösen a munkaképes férfiak magas halálórási aránya . </p><p>A politikai
doc#1046	
doc#1051	
doc#1054	
doc#1060	
doc#1061	
doc#1063	
doc#1065	
doc#1092	
doc#1137	
doc#1147	
doc#1151	
doc#1295	
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[illegible]

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doc#1351 karlsruhei alkotmánybíróság felmentette az arab férfit , a taláros testület szerint nem volt elég  
doc#1367 korábban biztosította helyét a játékokon . A férfiak versenyein nem lesz magyar induló .  
doc#1367 Hatodszorra aztán berúgta a végrehajtó . férfiak : A csoport : Mexikó - Görögország 3-2  
doc#1385 Nőknek az ajánlott mennyiség konyakból 3 , férfiaknak 5 centiliter .  
doc#1386 életben . Feltűnően sok " 0 " vércsoportú férfit és nő dolgozik az üzleti szférában , mint  
doc#1390 tagjait , így ellensúlyozva azt , hogy ezek a férfiak általában nem gondoskodnak utódokról .  
doc#1396 a szeretkezés . Az sem mindegy , hogy a férfi teljes súlyával a nőre fekszik , vagy térdelve  
doc#1396 egy negyediket valami bárban . Rózsaszín férfiak feleségei jobban teszik , ha résen vannak  
doc#1396 szerezünk , nőként fogjunk egy tükröt , férfiként pedig kérjük meg kedvesünket , hogy tárja  
doc#1396 magas tesztoszteron szint előmozdítja a férfiban a nőként való versengési hajlamot , ugyanakkor  
doc#1402 előfutamok - DUDÁS MIKLÓS ( 2. futam ) 10:47 ó : férfi K-2 200 m , előfutamok 10:51 ó : férfi  
doc#1424 felmérés szerint az ideális képviselő 43 éves , férfi , felsőfokú végzettséggel rendelkezik ,  
doc#1426 partszakazon összesen 25 bűncselekmény írható a férfiak számlájára , mintegy 15 millió forint értékben  
doc#1427 <p> A távirati iroda úgy értesült , hogy a férfi a Honvédelmi Minisztérium ( HM ) egyik  
doc#1429 melbe lőttek egy pénzzsallítással megbízott férfit , aki életveszélyes sérüléseket szenvedett  
doc#1430 rendszeresen bántalmazta élettársát . A férfit előállították a rendőrök , az anya pedig  
doc#1430 fiatalember volt , a másik pedig egy magyar férfit , űket igazoltatták , átvizsgálták , majd  
doc#1431 feltölti a pedofil képeket . Az ismeretlen férfi szerint egy 11 éves lány is bizonyította  
doc#1431 origo ] -nak a grafikusként dolgozó 30 éves férfi . Magassága 208 centi , a testsúlya 150  
doc#1432 - tájékoztatta az MTI-t a rendőrség . A férfi Nyíregyháza felé tartott . A sofőr egyedül

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doc#1432 letartóztatásba helyezték szombaton azt a férfit , akit azzal gyanúsítanak , hogy társával  
doc#1434 61-es főúton vasárnap , a motoron közlekedő férfi és az autó egyik férfi utasa halt meg .  
doc#1434 sajtóreferense , Szabó Zita . Azt mondta , hogy a férfi késsel a kezében pénteken dél körül szaladt  
doc#1436 lakása egy vélhetőleg az ágyban dohányzó férfinak Alsószolcán , és bár a tüzet percekben belül  
doc#1437 Szerdán két idős német kerekpárost , egy férfit és egy nőt gázolt halálra a vonat Balatonlelén  
doc#1438 </p><p> Teherautó platója zúzott halálra egy férfit Szentendrán kedd este - közölte a Pest  
doc#1439 településen . A helyszíni szemle , valamint a férfi vallomása alapján kiderült , hogy a családtagokat  
doc#1440 Felfüggesztett a Meggyes Tamás megölésére vállalkozó férfinak </head> <!-- http://www.origo.hu/ltthon/20130212-felfuggesztett-a-meggyes-tamas-megolesere-vallalkozo-ferfinak.html -->  
doc#1441 nem cigány , csak a jó pinát szereti " . A férfit láthatóan nem szomorították el az elmúlt  
doc#1458 Andkjaer a harmadik . </p><p> Eredmények , férfi 100 m hát : 1 . Brendan Hansen ( Egyesült  
doc#1462 ilyen eset is eljutott hozzánk " - mondta a férfi . </p><p> A jogvédők szerint a jelentésük  
doc#1463 repülőgépen egy ember volt , valamennyien - öt férfi és egy nő - életüket veszítették . </p><p>  
doc#1463 Ferenc . </p><p> Amerikaitak lőttek le a magyar férfit Irakban Magyar hegymászók ha-lálos balesetei  
doc#1465 <p> A korábbi , róla szóló cikkeik szerint a férfi holokauszttagadó és ártalannak tartja a  
doc#1468 Indokoltnak látszott a feltételezés , hogy a férfi gyilkosságra készül . Meg nem erősített  
doc#1470 osztrák rendőrség letartóztatott egy 53 éves férfit , akinek a lakásán több mint egymillió  
doc#1471 haláláért felelős . </p><p> Az ügyészek szerint a férfi több millió dolláros bevételre tett szert  
doc#1476 elsősorban a pszichiátriai kezelését írják elő . Férfiaknál ez éppen fordítva van : csak nagyon ritkán  
doc#1498 , méghozzá sima két játszmában . </p><p> A férfiaknál csupán egy negyedöntőre került sor , miután  
doc#1500 végén pedig a Paks cselekedte ugyanezt a férfinaknál . A két esemény között volt még egy Euróliga

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doc#1500 </p><p> játéknap : 2006. február 8. </p><p> férfiak Dabas-Diegó KC - Komlói BSK-Fütfőrerőmű Százhalmobatta  
doc#1501 Marikálal együtt - bronzérmes lett a heidenheimi férfi párbajtőr Világkupa-versenyen . Győzött  
doc#1503 Hantuchova győzte le két szettben . </p><p> A férfiak versenyének hasonló szakaszában az esélyeknek  
doc#1510 Charlotte Kalla ( Svédország ) sífutás , férfi 15 km-es szabadtílusú verseny : Dario  
doc#1511 Miamiában rendezett , kemény pályás tenisztorna férfi versenyt , miután a vasárnapi döntőben  
doc#1512 ( 19-24 , 23-11 , 22-11 , 18-19 ) </p><p> férfi NB I: Zalakerámia-ZTE KK - KONECRANES-Salgótarján  
doc#1515 " - elevenítette fel kalandját a kopasz férfi . " Felvettem , a vállamra dobtam egy zsák  
doc#1519 megkérnyezkezik őket , mégis hogyan szedjük fel őket a férfiak . A pasik azt hiszik , hogy ha egy nő miniszoknyát  
doc#1530 érdeklődésre azonban valószínűleg a két férfi képességét összemérő vetélkedő tarthat  
doc#1532 láthattunk . Érdekesség , hogy ott egyedülálló férfi volt figurája , Nate , aki új életet kezdett  
doc#1532 karakter ? </p><p> C. B. : Először is egy olyan férfi karaktert szerettünk volna megalkotni ,  
doc#1532 aki normális életre vágyik , és halandó férfit szeret : 2005-ös remake-jét ( Nicole Kidmannel  
doc#1542 egy óriásműlesiklással veszi kezdetét , a férfiak pedig egy nappal később küzdenek meg szintén  
doc#1548 egy nap alatt kapták el az elkövetőt . A férfi szabadlában védekezhet . </p><p> Olvassa  
doc#1562 először a belső dolgok dominálnak , azaz a férfi legyen férfias , az pedig hogyha ehhez  
doc#1568 körüli , szőkés hajú , közepes testalkatú férfi követte a fiamat . Egy évvel ezelőtt jelentkezett  
doc#1569 nyomozást rendelt el egy 46 éves jánoshalmi férfi feljelentése alapján ismeretlen tettes  
doc#1571 a mai napig nem boldogul , panaszkodik a férfi . - Míg a papírmunka zajlott , természetesen  
doc#1573 penteken délben rátörték az ajtót egy idős férfira Hódmezővásárhelyen , majd elvitték a megtakarított  
K-1 , 200 m , C-döntő 12.08 : férfi C-1

első | előző oldalszám: 6 / 10 Ugrás következő utolsó

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 463318 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 7 / 10   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>		
doc#1576	holttestét július 11-én délután találta meg egy	<b>férfi</b> a pécsi Delibáb utcában, egy bokros területen
doc#1578	emberi agyakon végezte kutatását, és a	<b>férfi</b> és a női agy közötti különbség kimutatásával
doc#1578	megalapozott gyanúja miatt indult eljárás . A	<b>férfi</b> korábban 28 alkalommal került összetűzésbe
doc#1584	köböl faragott emlékmű, melyen egy széke ly	<b>férfi</b> és egy széke ly nő látható, amint szemorkodnak
doc#1585	egyoldalas, középmezőben pásztorfaragásra utaló	<b>férfi</b> és nő ábrázolással, köriratban NÉPMŰVÉSZET
doc#1586	években nem szerepel a 100 leggyakoribb	<b>férfi</b> név között . </p><p> Névnapiok </p><p> július 10.
doc#1595	hogy azok a hölgyek a legfogékonyabbak a	<b>férfiak</b> illatára, akiknek éppen peteérésük van
doc#1596	1831. május 30-án . Ezt követte Az írónd és a fekete	<b>férfi</b> című vígoperája, amit a Teatro del Fondóban
doc#1622	olimpiál bajnokait ismertetjük . </p><p> <b>Férfiak</b>	<b>férfi</b> </p><p> Nők </p><p> Források </p><p> Taekwondo
doc#1623	elvitte a rendet, az Egyház legnagyobb újkori	<b>férfi</b> szerzetesrendjévé fejlődött, amely mind
doc#1623	kategóriában zajlott, a nyílt versenyen nők és	<b>férfiak</b> egyaránt részt vehettek . </p><p> Nyílt bajnokság
doc#1632	Tízolteotlnak, ekkor mint Iskuinának . A	<b>férfit</b> egy oszlophoz kötözték, majd dárdaikat
doc#1636	út szélén . A lezuhant autóbán egy halott	<b>férfit</b> találán, azonban az a következők pillanatban
doc#1639	<p> Oscar-díj ( 1997 ) </p><p> díj ; legjobb	<b>férfi</b> mellékszereplő ( Cuba Gooding Jr. ) </p>
doc#1644	azonos időt ért el </p><p> 30px Úszás </p><p>	<b>Férfi</b> </p><p> Források </p><p> Szvazföld </p><p> N2004
doc#1646	30px Tollaslabda </p><p> 30px Torna </p><p>	<b>Férfi</b> </p><p> Női </p><p> egy másik versenyzővel
doc#1654	<p> Díjlovaglás </p><p> 30px Műugrás </p><p>	<b>Férfi</b> </p><p> Női </p><p> 30px Ökölvívás </p><p> Férfi
doc#1654	alakja kiértéktiesen emlékeztetett arra a	<b>férfira</b> , akit a húszforintos bankón lehetett látni
doc#1654	eredményt ért el </p><p> 30px Súlyemelés </p><p>	<b>Férfi</b> </p><p> Női </p><p> 30px Szinkronúszás </p><p>
doc#1655	szezonzja szócikk a Pécsi Mecsek FC első számú	<b>férfi</b> labdarúgócsapatának egy idényéről szol
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 7 / 10   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>		

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 463318 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 8 / 10   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>		
doc#1656	játékok egyik részt vevő nemzete volt . Három	<b>férfi</b> versenyzője indult két sportágban, érmet
doc#1665	hivatalos számítás szerint Imre Géza ott lehet a	<b>férfi</b> párbajtőrözők olimpiai versenyében noha
doc#1666	70-80 százalékban véd meg a betegségtől és a	<b>férfinál</b> bakteriális fertőzést is kimutattak . A
doc#1668	és Kiskunhalas-Nyíradony 31:24 . </p><p> A	<b>férfi</b> kosárlabda NB I. végeredményei : Nyíregyháza-Albacomp
doc#1670	felesége szeretné börtönbe juttatni . A	<b>férfit</b> a bíróság felmentette a vád alól . Kovács
doc#1673	közleményében az nem szerepel, hogy a most elfogott	<b>férfi</b> rajta van -e a 26 legkeresettebb feltételezett
doc#1675	kísérletében , bejöttek a szobámba , és a két	<b>férfi</b> előtt közölte az államtitkárnak , hogy ebből
doc#1677	magát a pápát is megvádolta egy amerikai	<b>férfi</b> , aki azt állítja , hogy a Szentsek segített
doc#1680	vezetődjője . </p><p> A kézilabda NBI-ben a	<b>férfiaknál</b> Kecskemét - Plaer Zs31 . </p><p> A sportösszefoglalót
doc#1681	oktatási és kulturális miniszter házára . A	<b>férfi</b> , akinek sem életkrát , sem lakóhelyét
doc#1687	lámpánál várakozó autósra reggel Budapesten . A	<b>férfi</b> meghalt . - mondta munkatársunknak Pap
doc#1691	</p><p> Rendőrök és tűzoltók keresik azt a	<b>férfit</b> , aki Rábahídvégénél tűnt el a megáradt
doc#1713	helyi rendőrség kiderítette , az illuminált	<b>férfi</b> támadója a Hosszúpályi óvodások napközben
doc#1714	sportösszefoglaló következik itt a 180 percben . </p><p> A	<b>férfi</b> kézilabda bajnokság esti mérkőzésén Szeged
doc#1717	éves ázsiai növel ismerkednek , 58 éves	<b>férfi</b> vagyok . Vidám nő társat keres , jelentkezzen
doc#1719	Közigazgatási és Igazságügyi Minisztérium . A	<b>férfit</b> itthon , távollétében tényleges életfogytig
doc#1720	is hangoztatta , hogy az ellen küzd . A	<b>férfin</b> a tárgyalás alatt nem látszottak érzelmek
doc#1724	hajtanak be a karámba . Ekkor az összes	<b>férfi</b> egy csapásra , mintha megörlüne , beront
doc#1727	</byline> <p> 07:39 Rosszabbak a melanómás fiatal	<b>férfiak</b> túlélési esélyei </p> <opener> <datetime>
doc#1734	Köszönjük élet ! áldomásidat , Ez jó mulatság ,	<b>férfi</b> munka volt ! </p> <opener> <datetime> <date ISO8601=2013-07-05>
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 8 / 10   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>		

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 463318 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 9 / 10   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>		
doc#1735	hallottam jól , hogy mit mondtatok , de erre a	<b>férfira</b> én is jól emlékszem ... --- &gt; Tetszett
doc#1738	Klári Puska </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Több	<b>férfi</b> ül a klub öltözőjében , edzés után . Hirtelen
doc#1746	<docAuthor> Napi vicc </docAuthor> </byline> <p> A	<b>férfi</b> meséli , milyen rémes álma volt . - Képzeltétek
doc#1753	</byline> <p> Mindig mondjuk , hogy a legnehezebb	<b>férfiaknak</b> ajándékok vásárolni . De most megtaláltuk
doc#1766	emberölés előkészületének büntette miatt . A	<b>férfi</b> szabadlában várta a jogerős ítéletet .
doc#1767	tenni " nem lehet . A háziaszony ( vagy	<b>férfi</b> ) süt , főz , valaki filmez , valaki játszik
doc#1798	Szegedi Rendőrkapitányság azt a 35 éves	<b>férfit</b> , akit azzal gyanúsítanak , hogy a Szegedi
doc#1801	Invitel </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Női és	<b>férfi</b> profilkép-formátumok . Szerencse , hogy
doc#1805	, hogy utoljára V. Zoltán 53 éves tompai	<b>férfi</b> találkozott az eltűnt fiatalemberrel ,
doc#1807	teherautója " gázolt el " egy középkorú nagykörösi	<b>férfit</b> szerdán Kecskeméten - értesült a Petőfi
doc#1810	, hogy utoljára V. Zoltán 53 éves tompai	<b>férfi</b> találkozott az eltűnt fiatalemberrel .
doc#1841	is . Hogy hangzik ez ? Attól , hogy egy	<b>férfi</b> helyespesi , abból még nem következik ,
doc#1843	gyereknevelés , főzés , nők kielégítése , hát ez nem	<b>férfiakat</b> érdeklő téma , és nem is az ő feladatuk
doc#1857	<docAuthor> Hír24 </docAuthor> </byline> <p> A	<b>férfi</b> egy V. kerületi társasházat szemelt ki
doc#1858	megölni , amikor égő papír cetliket dugott a	<b>férfi</b> dolgozószobájába , ahol a férj a veszekedés
doc#1869	<p> Megújította jogosítványát egy 101 éves	<b>férfi</b> Az olasz Emilio Zumerle 55 éve ugyanazzal
doc#1876	le Kínában . Európai csoportselejtezők :	<b>férfiak</b> : A csoport : Szerbia , Oroszország , Románia
doc#1877	bajnok Zágrábban folytathatja menetelését a	<b>férfi</b> kézilabda Bajnokok Ligájában . </p> <opener>
doc#1884	<p> Minőségi ingek , cipők , pulóverek és	<b>férfi</b> alsónemük a TCHIBO Webáruházban . </p> <opener>
doc#1890	egy nem létező álláshelyért . A póru l járt	<b>férfi</b> feljelentést tett , a gyanúsított ellen
<a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 9 / 10   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>		

avi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 463318 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
első	előző	oldalszám: 10 ▼ / 10 Ugrás
doc#1893	délnyugat-franciaországi Limoges büntetőbírósa egy	férfit , aki elfenekelte 9 éves kislát . </p> <opener>
doc#1897	a nőt , hogy alkalmas a feladatra , hogy	férfiként tekintsen rá . Ezt nem szavakkal kell elérni
doc#1898	Öcsöd - cigányok vertek agyon egy 78 éves	férfit . Miskolc - 3 cigány vert agyon egy 58
doc#1940	, majd gyanúsítottként hallgatták ki . A	férfit
doc#1948	maradsz , ha sosem nősz fel , ha sosem leszel	férfit . Nincsenek ilyen kaliberű beavatásaink
doc#1948	<!-- __EMPTY_PARAGRAPH__ --> </byline> <p> A kutatók mintegy 119 ezer	férfit és nőt követtek - 30 éven át . </p> <opener>
doc#1965	szeretne . Még a társadalomnak is kell az erős	férfit , hogy újra legyen az emberekben tartás
doc#1967	bugyikért rajonganak kiskegyed.hu &verbar; Ahány	férfit , annyiféle fehérműt szeret egy nőn .
doc#1969	Kiderül például az , hogy az 52 esztendő	férfit korábban politikai fronton kavarta a kártyákat
doc#1972	győztes küzdelemnek tükröződése . Olyan	férfit arcán jelenik meg , aki önmaga ura . Erőszak
doc#1982	rendőr csak nézte , ahogy Mexikóvárosban két	férfit a nyílt utcáról rabolnak el . Az esetről
doc#1984	elmentek azokra a helyekre is , amiket a	férfit látogatni szokott . A + A- P @ &gt; &verbar;
doc#1984	személygépkocsit és ellenőrizték a benne ülő három	férfit . </p> <opener> <dateline> <date ISO8601="2013-12-09">
doc#1986	Bill : Hello ! Ingrid : Oh , milyen aranyos	férfit vagy ! ( Megöleli Billt , Bill pedig röhög
doc#1994	2012 májusában megismerkedett egy szegedi	férffivel , akivel többször találkozott . Miután
doc#1998	</byline> <p> Lebukott az ittasan kocsikázó	férfit szonda &verbar; Pétervására belterületén
doc#1999	Történet : a rendőr megállít egy autót . a	férfit lehúzza az ablakot , mire a rendőr megkérdi
doc#2000	kefélt . Push-up melle , lapos segge sok	férfit elcsábított , Puncijának Erős szaga sokat
doc#2006	emberi személyiség méltósága és értéke , a	férfiak és nők egyenjogúsága mellett , valamint
doc#2014	férfit Fótón Vita közben halálra késeltek egy	férfit Fótón szombat délután - tájékoztatta a
első	előző	oldalszám: 10 ▼ / 10 Ugrás

lavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 346321 - ebből vett 200 elemű véletlen minta		
első	előző	oldalszám: 10 ▼ / 10 Ugrás
doc#1892	néhány olyan országot , ahol jellemző módon a	nők tesznek , vagy tettek hasonló súlyosságú
doc#1894	visszaállítani kívánók táborával , de ez a	nő nem érdemel mást . </p> <opener> <dateline>
doc#1900	pedig tekintélyes zsákmány . Egészséges	nő . Hogy ebben erő is volt ? Naná , hisz
doc#1900	sajtóhírdetése görbe tükröt tart a világnak : a	nők ellentmondásos helyzetére , az egyenjogúság
doc#1925	boldog nőnek nincsenek gondjai . A vidám	nőnek vannak , csak megtanulta , hogyan kezelje
doc#1925	<!-- __EMPTY_PARAGRAPH__ --> </byline> <p> Férfi ,	nő , muxe A muxék azok , akik férfi testben
doc#1927	fiatalember azonban gyorsan rájön , hogy a	nők révén érvényesülhet . Az előnyös külseje
doc#1927	felszólalni a családon belüli Erőszak ellen és a	nők anyagi függetlenségéért . Ez az a vállalat
doc#1928	: öreg nő ... : D ELHISZEM , hogy vannak	nők akik jól tudnak vezetni , de azért ez a
doc#1931	</byline> <p> Ahol a méhükkel sztrájkolnak a	nők Feminó Címkek : népességfogyás , anyaság
doc#1947	sőt , bármilyen hihetetlen , még a vékony	nők is küzdenek a combtájékon és hason megjelenő
doc#1948	<p> Támadnak a szörös puncik ! Egyre több	nő szavaz a természetességre odalent </p> <opener>
doc#1949	segítenek megmutatni , mire van szüksége ma egy	nőnek a sikerhez . Rekordszámú , közel 60 jelölés
doc#1952	szépet : lásd a szemekkel ; s én megmondom a	nőknek , boxvii . hogy lakomát készítsenek ottbent
doc#1962	kerekasztal-beszélgetésen Szalai Piroksa , a	nők munkaerő-piaci helyzetének javításáért
doc#1964	TENISZ 10:00 - Sakik : a férfiak az ötödik , a	nők a hatodik helyen zárták a csapat Eb-t EGYÉB
doc#1967	férfiaknál általában gennyes húgycsőfolyást ,	nőknél a méhszájból kiinduló gennyes , máskor
doc#1971	számít a véleményed ! VIDEÓK C. Ronaldo	nője dominaként büntet új videójában Horrorbaleset
doc#1982	59 napot " ingyen " dolgoznak az európai	nők ! @ EU_Justice </p> <opener> <dateline> <date ISO8601="2013-12-09">
doc#2015	és ahogy húzom fel egy ilyen 45 év körüli	nő fellök rászolok hogy legyen kedves mennyen
első	előző	oldalszám: 10 ▼ / 10 Ugrás



## Appendix 3: 200-piece random sample of CSAJ (“gal”) lemma

szlavi

korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta

oldalszám: 1 / 13 

Ugrás

következő

 | 

utolsó

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doc#160

doc#167

doc#956

doc#956

doc#960

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doc#973

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doc#979

doc#979

doc#981

doc#982

doc#982

doc#983

doc#985

nem volt . Per pillanat nincs , mondta a

majdnem az autóbuszon . Három srác meg egy

Mari ... Én szeretem a csajt . </p><p> - Ez a

és a gyerekei vidéken voltak . Amikor a

másik topicban irtakkal kell egyetértsek , a

rábeszélni , hogy higgye már el . Amúgy AZ a jó

megcsalta ! Túl jó dolga volt ? Vagy ez a

barátnőjét ( alul-fölül :))) </p><p> szegény

ellentétben ) ! Felőlem lehet akármilyen bombázó a

pakliban . ) Azt , hogy milyen könnyű a

autóddal a belvárosba és közben tele van szoke

fagott gézengúz nyenyere csintalan csicsás

10:15:05 </time> </datetime> </opener> <p> Rám

</opener> <p> ltt a suliban volt olyan , hogy a

de aztán már az se , mint eleve borotvált

ahol az egy negyzetmeterre eso bellissima

konnyen ki lehetne horgaszni a kellemes

elmegy veled ( vagy velünk ) sörözni ez remek

dobozban befér két 25cm-es mélynyomó ! A

csajjal . Tihanyánál fordultam , de a két

csaj

csaj

csaj

csaj

csajok

csaj

csaj

csaj

csaj

csajokat

csajokkal

csaj

csaj

csaj

csajnak

csajt

csajok

csajokat

csajra

csajok

csaj

, de lesz , mihamarabb . Az nekem késő

elállják a kijáratot a lépcsőkön fölfelé

baja . Mit tehettek érte ? </p><p> - Elmondta

otthagya őt , fölhívta a feleségét , és

annyira őv alatt képesek egymásnak menni

, aki minden találkozáskor egyre jobban

egy " ilyen típusú " ribanc volt ?! Ki

!!!!!! </p> <byline> <docAuthor> hosszu </docAuthor>

, akkor sem kell ! </p><p> Stirlit : nem

elvinni , azt meg akkor figyelhetjük meg

a hátsó és az első ülés ; ) </p> <byline>

dáridó giga hoppsza kekec kofa kokárda

ilyen hatással még nem volt . </p> <byline>

gépirás közben akadt a billentyűk közé

keresni , úgy tűnik . Viszont ha már valaki

szama egyenesen idomult a kezunk ugyeben

, csak korul kell nezni , es akik kozul

vall . No már most azért is , mert ebben

bizseregnek töle ... </p> <byline> <docAuthor>

addigra már mindent levett és napozott

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utolsó

zlavi

korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta

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doc#1021

életveszelyes . ON Honnan tudtat , hogy a biro

tobb , mert mikor befizettem a penzbeszedo

elvesziteni ! " Pedig intelligens , művelt

Azért mégiscsak vannak körülötte 20 éves

- Pröcskölünk egyet ? - kérdezte a G. a

bevágás : a deszka repül a levegőben , a

( Nem úgy , ahogy a topicot ) . Beint a

mar tenyleg nem a pmz topikba tartozik . a

képzelné , sok impotens férfi között egy szexi

mutogatnak . Nagyon kitalálták . Szexis

. </p><p> MOHÁCS " </p><p> Kossuth : Hajrá ,

minden nő a miller pasikra hajt , még ha a

gondolsz ? Írj vissza ! Puszi : 9s ( a szöke

éppen a táncosoké . </head> <p> Dögös szöke

Amerikai pite ( mb. am . ) " h3 . Pop ,

. ) " 19-én és 23-án éjjel 10 . Pop ,

a szelet , futó kaland , fűzés , fűzi a

voltam . Más világ . Smasszernők vannak . Egy

harminc körüli nő , Jolán , eleven , jó

Albian -, csak kapjalak rajta egy másik

csaj

csajnak

csaj

csajok

csajt

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csajnak

csaj

csaj

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csaj

ketdanos ? A szokere gondoltal ? Hamar

miutan odaadtam a penzt megkerdezte , hog

volt .. ) Amikor így már ment a dolog ,

, és én bármilyen jól karban vagyok tartva

. - Megdumáltál -válaszolt a bige . Egy

meg sikoltozva-kapálózva utána ) , bangidzsamgingozni

, majd diadalmasan felém fordul : " Akkor

egyebkent az a típus , aki inkompetenciajat

igazi oroszlán . Tudom , hogy ma is a svéd

, klasszis hang , s hozzá még egy mai napig

! ( 18.00 ) , Charlie angyalai ( 20.00

bomba is ! Debrecen buli szintjén egy 0

) . </p><p> Morfi " ! Köszönöm a hölgy megszólítást

ezüst bikiniben guggol egy music center

satöbbi ( am . ) " h5 , 7 , n10 . A Mars

satöbbi ( am . ) " 22-én éjjel 10 . </p>

, hapszás , hetyegés , hódítás , izgulás

bevezetett valami külön szobába , hogy

. Az üveges ajtón látszik a sziluettjük

... hacsak be nem szállok harmadiknak !

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korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta

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doc#1396

doc#1401

elintézte , hogy ...? </p><p> - Hogy miután a

nevetem Csajossá . Mert azt tudod , hogy "

</datetime> </opener> <head> <title> Új

lettem figyelmes , hogy egy fekete hajú

legsikeresebb filmje lett . 2005-ben mutatták be a A

az egészre , és inkább játszik . Szegény

( Bors ) . 1936 - Kézdi György színész (

rate10/0602/20060209harrycsaj.jpg Harry Potternek új

is szerveztek táborot . Jó adagnyi csini

többi táborlakkóval ( főleg a csinos külföldi

viszont én vagyok az a furcsa underground

nem . Nem elhanyagolható számú pasi ( és

hiszen ez így van nagyon régóta , hogy a

/i/0602/20060209harrycsaj.jpg Harry Potternek új

hatalmas döngetésre vágysz , válassz bajszos

Nos , igen , a férfivá érés - elnézést a

neki , hogy mivel eddig jobban érdekelték a

alakítja , a bérgyilkos Bruce Willis , a

ha egy pasi engem bámul , miközben ott a

</docAuthor> </byline> <head rend="BO"> Bikinis

csaj

csaj

csaj

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csajom

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csajok

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csaj

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csaj

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csaj

megcsinálta a nyomhagyást , bement a színpadra

" csibésznyelven nőt jelent . A csajom

: Szexi , bikinis barátnőjével villantott

valamiért dühös lesz rám , és meglök .

apja ideges ( Guess Who ) című romantikus

ezt már nem bírta , kivonta barátját az

, A napfény íze ) .1944 - Alan ( William

miatt nem megyünk ? O: amúgy hol ismerted

sétafikált az utakon , többségük ráadásul

) is lespanoltak . Ezúttal hagyom , hogy

. Mindenhol mint kívülállóit méregetnek

) részesíti például előnyben a reggeli

csak három szám jut . Én ugyanúgy örülök

lesz /sport/20060206harry.html\_self /i/0602/20060206harrypott2.jpg

, és utána sétáltasd meg a hónaljkyutáit

, de az ő nevükben nem tudok beszélni -

az utcán meg az újságolvasás , amíg én

pedig nem más , mint Lucy Liu . </p><p> Bünygyi

mellette . Át tudom érezni , hogy mit érezhet

, félmeztelen pasik másképpen </head> <!-- egyeb -->

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elavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta			
első   előző oldalszám: 4 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó			
doc#1401	gyomrom a holnapi meccs miatt , úgy/hogy nem a	csajokra	gondoltam . " </p><p> A törvívő Mohamed Aidának
doc#1402	katona . " Ez az " elvtárs " annak a két	csajnak	az apja volt egyébként , akik az Ezek a
doc#1403	előjátékkal ! </head> <!-- egyeb --> <p> Pompás	csajok	egy pompás épületben , valamint az R&#amp;B-sztár
doc#1408	két másodperc alatt felejtí el Uma előtti	csaját	, amikor az nem hajlandó szöba állni vele
doc#1408	Mészáros Bela ( Melletted ) , a további	csajok	pedig : Réti Adrienn , Tenki Réka , Bartsch
doc#1408	LányreakcióA kissé szexisták - Harcimacák , A	csajok	tűzelnek , Szöke kula , Harcias sminkelők
doc#1409	Currie-t ( Dakota Fanning ) választotta a	csajokból	álló rockbanda , a The Runaways énekesének
doc#1409	</byline> <head rend="BO"> Colin Farrell volt	csaja	kitálat </head> <!-- http://www.origo.hu/filmklub/blog/keszuloben/20110120-megfilmesitik-colin-farrell-volt-baratnojenek-emma-forrestnek-a-your-voice.html -->
doc#1409	szindarabon alapul . Valószínűleg a főszereplő	csajok	miatt fogjuk szeretni ezt a filmet : Kirsten
doc#1409	Stohl . </p><p> Stohl András a Nejem , nóm ,	csajom	forgatásán &#x2013; Fotó : Pályi Zsófia
doc#1409	Sorozatunk előző részében Bercsényi Péter a Pop ,	csajok	, satöbbi című 2000-es alkotás egyik jelenetét
doc#1410	, mint az egyből DVD-re számított Hajrá	csajok	4 főszerepe és a Botrányos pomponlányok
doc#1411	Eredmények , hírek , tudósítások , pletykák ,	csajok	, képek , videók &#x26;#x26;#x26; http://www.origo.hu/foci-eb-2012/index.html
doc#1411	Eredmények , hírek , tudósítások , pletykák ,	csajok	, képek , videók &#x26;#x26;#x26; http://www.origo.hu/foci-eb-2012/index.html
doc#1411	a torna totális ignorálása vagy a másik	csajának	a kilövése is elég volt ehhez . Bár kicsit
doc#1411	Eredmények , hírek , tudósítások , pletykák ,	csajok	, képek , videók &#x26;#x26;#x26; http://www.origo.hu/foci-eb-2012/index.html
doc#1434	Turcsik Lászlótól , hogy elengedi -e " a	csajához	" , aki állítólag már a szükséges papírokat
doc#1475	lesütik a szemüket , és akadnak olyan küemény	csajok	is , akik rezzenéstelen arccal konstatálják
doc#1475	vágy saját magadnak , hogy a legmeredekebb	csajt	is be tudod fúzni ? Esetleg a még nem teljesen
doc#1476	Akkor fordulj a Facér Csajszíthoz ! Ő is	csaj	, ő aztán csak tudja . Írj neki , majd
első   előző oldalszám: 4 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó			

laví korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta			
első   előző oldalszám: 5 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó			
doc#1476	dacos , ha esetleg összejön azzal a másik	csajjal	. Csak várd ki a végét , lehet , hogy a
doc#1476	valójában , de sokat mesélt magáról és a	csajokról	szívügyí tanácsadónk . Irány a Vendégszoba
doc#1476	Lindsay Lohan amerikai színésznő , a Bajos	csajok	című film sztárját - akit annak ellenére
doc#1477	óvszer öltöztet A nap fotója : Ewan meg a	csajok	</p> <opener> <datetime> <date ISO8601="2008-01-08-T00:47Z">
doc#1477	red hot chili bébi A nap fotója : pénzes	csajok	A nap fotója : Kevin Costner , máshogy </p>
doc#1477	mint olvastam . Könyvet is lehet cserélni a	csajokkal	, így azon is meg lehetett takarítani
doc#1484	gondolat . </p><p> A ráadás és a két tökös	csaj	pozór gitárshowja után elhagyják a színpadot
doc#1489	fogjuk ezt a könyvet . Ha Nick Hornby Pop ,	csajok	, satöbbi című regényét popkulturális párkapcsolati
doc#1513	</docAuthor> </byline> <head rend="BO"> " Kemény	csaj	vagyok , ott leszek Londonban " - interjú
doc#1516	Eredmények , hírek , tudósítások , pletykák ,	csajok	, képek , videók &#x26;#x26;#x26; http://www.origo.hu/foci-eb-2012/index.html
doc#1531	Psycho 4 : Ahogyan kezdődött , Lucy , a	csajom	, Hullák a vízben . </p><p> Tévé szerepeket
doc#1531	jegyeket variálják . Igazán értelmes , beleváló	csajokat	jelenleg pedig csak fikciós sorozatokban
doc#1533	<!-- teve --> <p> Június 5-én indítja a magyar HBO	Csajok	címen a Girls-t , amely az USA-ban is csak
doc#1560	macskák , hogy nekik aztán milyen bevállalós	csajaik	voltak ám . </p><p> Nóri elverte volna Anettkát
doc#1560	viszont remélek szórakoznak . Tapogatták a	csajokat	és remek ötletekkel zavarják össze a lakókat
doc#1560	fenekem Az ülések elől Remekes s tutik S a	csajokkal	benne Kezdődhet a kufirc Nem ütnék el vele
doc#1562	ismerkednem , mert vagy nem mernek odajönni a	csajok	, vagy abból próbálnak ítélni , amit egy-két
doc#1562	ebbe kapaszkodik . Így aztán elismerik a	csajok	, hogy ez valóban nem egyszerű . </p><p>
doc#1565	egyszerűen arról van szó , hogy néha jólesik a	csajoknak	, ha mindenféle magyarázkodás és megfelelni
doc#1628	pite ( American pie ) </p><p> 2000. Pasik és	csajok	( Boys and girls ) </p><p> 2000. Lúzer (
első   előző oldalszám: 5 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó			

laví korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta			
első   előző oldalszám: 6 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó			
doc#1637	. Első szerepe a 2007-es Bratz - Talpra	csajok	! volt . Legismertebb szerepe Stella Malone
doc#1656	esetre , ha nem tudná behálózni a legdögösebb	csajt	( így " van egy második esélye az első
doc#1661	) - Saját maga </p><p> 2012 Nejem , nóm ,	csajom	( romantikus vígjáték ) - Szilvi </p><p>
doc#1668	le a kaktuszt és úgy szedték . Nekem arab	csajok	mutatták , hogy erre mi a megoldás . Fogták
doc#1712	tudtuk , hogy a Kaffkába mikor mennek a jó	csajok	. </p><p> R. : - Pontosan milyen volt akkor
doc#1724	fejmemre , de itt a face-en meg minden ghánai	csaj	belém szerelmes ?.... Csak a bankszámlaszámom
doc#1725	kimentünk a teremből dühöngeni kezdtem . - Az a	csaj	kiborít . Mi az hogy leribancozta Emmát
doc#1725	szakítással Nicole Scherzinger veszett jó	csaj	, de összetört a szíve . Előbbi megagalériával
doc#1726	képeket itt-ott , hát ha néhány srác és	csaj	helyébe lennék , és úgy néznék ki mint
doc#1730	Ferkovits Ágnes </docAuthor> </byline> <p>	csajok	próbáltam , nekem nem ment : D szőlőn
doc#1731	sokkal több az , mint 1500 km . Szegeden jó	csajok	vannak , ezt álalom Ui. hogy kerültél
doc#1733	<!-- __EMPTY_PARAGRAPH__ --> </byline> <p> Rémisztó ez a	csaj	, mégis hallgatom Chief Keef női párja
doc#1734	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> Tagad a Vetkőző	csaj	A sztriptíz táncos lány , aki az egyik bulvárlap
doc#1736	</byline> <p> feszült itt Angliában együtt a	csajokkal	!!! :) </p> <opener> <datetime> <date ISO8601="2013-07-05">
doc#1737	négy asztronauta dolgozgat - 3 pasi és 1	csaj	, most komolyan kiküld egyéves expedícióra
doc#1740	</datetime> </opener> </byline> <docAuthor> Csak	Csajoknak	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> csajoknak.com </p>
doc#1740	mellett volt egy pad , amin ott ült az a	csaj	amelyik bejött nekem . Én vagyok osztály
doc#1741	Tesco , Lidl-es " egyenruhában " vasarol a	csaj	..... kicsit azért odabasz ..... xD </p>
doc#1742	<!-- __EMPTY_PARAGRAPH__ --> </byline> <p> A tédemig ér és a	csajok	imádják : a Honda apró szépsége tündéri
doc#1744	</byline> <p> Medencés buli volt nálunk ... csak	csajokat	nem tudtam szerezni időben nekik : D </p>
első   előző oldalszám: 6 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó			





korpusz: MNSZ2  
találatok száma: 26728 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta  
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doc#1885	semmi , még jó hogy ma közös futi volt a	csajokkal	, így már nem sumákkoltam tovább.12 , 6km
doc#1887	Peter_Cs : persze hogy jobb volt , mert a	csaj	konkrétan jobb énekes . Smitty nem tudom
doc#1895	sikerült kepet csinálni ! ui. : az a szoke	csaj	tudta egyáltalán ki zenel ? : @ </p> <opener>
doc#1897	tünetések , ugyanis tuti , hogy azok a	csajok	alikk ott megjelennek szeretnek kefélni
doc#1900	inkább a nyálás páva majmokra buknak .....</docAuthor> Takács Anna </docAuthor> </byline> <p>	csajok	merjetekek élni keressetek új kihívásokat
doc#1900	jönnek össze a dolgok ... És a nők ? - A	Csajok	! Aki holnap ráér és szeretne egy ingyen
doc#1902	leánybúcsút Hollywoodban ünneplik meg a	csajokat	most hagyjuk Annyit dobok az exemre is
doc#1903	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> ez az Alexa totál belevaló	csajok	nem is akármilyen ... </p> <opener> <dateline>
doc#1903	lévő " KAN " meg sem mozdul . Ott áll a	csaj	, imádom a stílusát # RTL </p> <opener> <dateline>
doc#1904	..... &gt;&gt; Adrii Lovast nagyon jó fej	csaj	mögött mint egy darab " fa " ... ???!!!!
doc#1904	</dateline> </opener> <byline> <docAuthor> Csak	Csajoknak	nem bánod meg .! Cserébe kapsz egy lájk
doc#1907	Barlang feltette a Legjobb kocsi és legjobb	csajok	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> Kinek jön be ??
doc#1909	Abby okoz számomra . Esküszöm nektek ez a	csaj	című galériáját . A világ legszebb hölgyeiről
doc#1909	ha túl nagy a mellény , Én fogom verni a	csajod	nem normális . Eddig szerettem , de most
doc#1910	myrhol23 </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Ez az új	csaj	mellén , Majd integetünk a sárga busznak
doc#1911	elköszöntünk egymástól és be mentünk a szobánkba a	csajokkal	az ÉNBP be !!! ; D " . " atya ég !! ; D
doc#1913	. Vytas ügyesen az ujjja köré csavarja a	csajokat	. Már 9-kor megint tiszta éhesek voltunk
doc#1914	dolgokat nem közli . - Számítógép típusú	csaj	lelkizéssel , de annyi esze még Rupertnének
doc#1915	vagy merszet játszotok a barátaitokkal , a	csajokkal	: Az előzőek tökéletes kombinációja ,
			+ az 1D-s fiúkkal . Véletlenül futottatok

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## Appendix 4: 200-piece random sample of PASI (“guy”) lemma

zlavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta oldalszám: 1 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó		
doc#956	Egylányok , </p><p> hát olyan nincs , hogy rendes	pasi betojjon a dupla lehetőségtől . Ahogy mondani
doc#957	elobb kellett volna gondolkodnia - es a	pasinak ? Es te felhuznal ket - harom kotont ,
doc#958	senkit K-nak , maximum erkölcsetlennek . A	pasikat bedig baromnak , mert hagyják magukat a
doc#960	hogy " megmérköztünk " valami ( nem mindig	pasi ) kapcsán , azután hirtelen átváltott az
doc#960	gazdagabb pasiktól kapják . Aztán meg a szegély	pasikat aléltatják vele . Vagy túlegyszerusitettem
doc#961	majdnem mindig képes megszerezni magának egy	pasit , es meg el is hitetni vele , hogy o dontott
doc#961	( most már kettő :) ) és számos kirakott	pasi . És a gyerekeim néha valóban mocskosak
doc#963	lányt is nagyon félttem azóta . Az akkori	pasija kedves barátai megerőszkoltak , prostitúcióra
doc#968	helyi egyesületek bevétele is ... 4. Ez a	pasi kell nektek ??? </p> <byline> <docAuthor>
doc#969	jelszavamat meg a hitelkartyaszamomat . Es a	pasi szepen megmosult , született egy gyerekuk
doc#970	van , pezsgőt hozhatok , mostmár csak wmi	pasi kéne ! </p> <byline> <docAuthor> Mr. Babody
doc#970	vacilláltam , a helyett , hogy ráugrottam volna a	pasira . És komolyan --- feladtam ! Nincs szükségem
doc#971	</time> </dateline> </opener> <p> Bújócska	Pasi , Varázslóm , izgulsz ? Mert én igen ...
doc#972	bennük . </p> <byline> <docAuthor> Bújócska	Pasi </docAuthor> </byline> <opener> <dateline>
doc#972	bedőltek . </p> <byline> <docAuthor> Bújócska	Pasi </docAuthor> </byline> <opener> <dateline>
doc#972	megmondhatja azt mindeninek , hogy az adott	pasi feleségén kívül hány csalfa asszony van
doc#974	egy a feleséget " szereto es tisztelo "	pasival , mint egy a hazassagat uno atlaggal pajzankodni
doc#975	olvasnom ! :- ) Az én kedvencem pedig Bújócska	Pasi , az én Varázslóm és Titkos Férfjem . </p>
doc#976	nyilvánvalóan igaz , hiszen ha egy jobb nő vagy jobb	pasi felszabadul , elég hamar lecsap rá a kiéhezett
doc#977	uztem volna , mert nincs az az anyallélku	pasi aki egyszer sem vetne a felesége szemere
oldalszám: 1 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó		

zlavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta első előző oldalszám: 2 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó		
doc#982	jobban értenek a nokhoz ! Ezek szerint , mi	pasik is jobban tudnánk szopni egymast ? Ne nevetessetek
doc#982	relative , egy 15 éves kislánynak a 30-as	pasi nagypapa . A feleségem 10 evvel fiatalabb
doc#982	<p> Addig nagyon jól hangzik , hogy " 30-as	pasik " , de tudnak még valamit ezen kívül ?
doc#982	hogy ő lesz így a végzet asszonya . De a	pasinak volt esze ( persze már nem volt kispályás
doc#984	majd előre egyeztetjük velük , hogy melyik	pasira vethetik rá magukat . :-D DDD Nem ? Megbeszéltük
doc#985	</dateline> </opener> <p> Van itten egy calus nevű	pasi , aki csak azért nem mer ide bejelentkeződeni
doc#988	ettől még miért ne vehetne Neked a Gazdag	Pasi egy drága bármit ? Mondjuk ajándékba ?
doc#990	. A következő pillanatban jött szembe a	pasi , autóval . 2 perc múlva újra csörgött
doc#991	, " női hülyeség " , stb .. Vannak hülye	pasik , és vannak hülye nők . Node van az ellenkező
doc#992	</dateline> </opener> <p> Tsak nőöök ? :((( Nemá !	Pasikkal SOKKAL jobb beszélgetni ! :) </p> <byline>
doc#994	mindannyian mutatunk hajlandósá- got mi	pasik de azért biztosan akad kivétel is ... a
doc#994	szakértő ! Te egy nagyon szeretetreméltó	pasi vagy ! Nem hallottál még a bioszenzoros
doc#995	alkalmával egy harmadik - negyedik , ötödik -	pasival kefélt volna éppen , amit szintén végigmozizhattál
doc#997	köszönhető annak , hogy miután kidobtam a	pasimat , rá kellett döbbennem : annyira szeretem
doc#997	igyekeztek beletaposni a sárba . Szakmailag a	pasi oké , valljuk be , talán tényleg a legnagyobb
doc#1000	megfenyegette a volt feleségét és annak az új	pasiját , erre ők kérelmezték az önvédelmi fegyver
doc#1000	ez a pont az első amit egy nő megnéz egy	pasin ? Mert állítógazt ezt nézik először ! </p>
doc#1001	Szabolcs utcába ... Kaptam gyógyszert , a	pasi tulajdonképpen semmire sem hívta fel a
doc#1002	Legyünk barátok " , " Hagyjuk az egészet " ,	pasi úszik , seba , van ezer másik :-))) Ba
doc#1003	most derült ki ... az " otthon , Mo.-n a	pasik " itt kint " típusú megjegyzések ...
első   előző oldalszám: 2 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó		

zlavi korpusz: MNSZ2

korpusz: MNSZ2 találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta első előző oldalszám: 5 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó		
doc#1475	Hogyan lehet életet lehelni egy kimerült	pasiba ? És egy kimerült nőbe ? 23 éves lány vagyok
doc#1475	hogyan látja helyzetünket ! </p><p> A Facér	Pasi válaszol Önbi zalomhiányban szenvedsz ?
doc#1475	azért , hogy női gondokon segítsen ! A Facér	Pasinak írt levelet és a választ szerkesztett
doc#1475	nélkül nem élet az élet lgergetős , gyáva nős	pasik Egy szer levegőnek néz , mások királylánynak
doc#1475	senkinek semmi köze . Így kellene látnod a	pasid kis kíváncsiságát is . </p><p> A kapcsolatokban
doc#1475	élményekig Csak meglátom , és máris beindulok	Pasival nem megy , csak egyedül Saját tested nem
doc#1475	másinak Túlélőtaktikák Rómeónak és Júliának A	pasim nem akar összeköltözni velem Tartozni valakihez
doc#1475	be a barátjának mint egy barátnője leendő	pasiját . Ezután nem tudom mi történhetett , mert
doc#1476	erre nincs mód , inkább kérdezzünk meg egy	pasit , hogy ő hogyan látja helyzetünket . </p>
doc#1476	hívuk a női szívek megmentőjét , a Facér	Pasit , akitől most előben kérdezhetsz , bármiről
doc#1476	rákérdeztem illetékesnél , hogy tényleg miért jó a	pasinak szexképeket nézegetni , ő , ahelyett ,
doc#1476	Ez akkor volt , amikor frissen megismert	pasim egyszer randira várt és én üdén , egy hatalmas
doc#1476	a nő és a pénz A nők libidója ldegesit a	pasim ! Ki olvas a divatról ? Rengeteget olvasunk
doc#1476	Reméljük a legjobbakat . </p><p> Csókol : a Facér	Pasi </p><p> Lassan a testtel Kitérés a kapcsolatból
doc#1476	lassabban alakul egy bimbózó kapcsolat . A Facér	Pasi válaszol . </p><p> Kedves Facér Pasi ! </p>
doc#1476	azért , hogy női gondokon segítsen ! A Facér	Pasinak írt levelet és a választ szerkesztett
doc#1476	Önbizalomhiányban szenvedsz ? Nem tudod , hogy működik a	pasik agya ? Szeretné , ha olyan valaki adna
doc#1476	hozzám , ír , a magánéletemben kutakodik , a	pasikról kérdezget , miközben azzal hencse , hogy
doc#1476	abban az esetben , ha valaki lecsapná a	pasidat a kezedről ? </p><p> Kéressz magadnak egy
doc#1476	</p><p> Sajnálom ! </p><p> Csókol : a Facér	Pasi </p><p> Egy fiatal csábító panasza Szerelmi
első   előző oldalszám: 5 / 13 Ugrás következő utolsó		



<p>korpusz: <b>MNSZ2</b>  találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta</p>		
<p><a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 7 ▾ / 13   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a></p>		
doc#1532	július 18-án vált hívatlössá, hogy a Két	<b>pasi</b> - meg egy kicsi -ből kirúgott Charlie Sheen
doc#1532	Államokban szeptemberben tért vissza a Két	<b>pasi</b> - meg egy kicsi, de Sheen helyett Ashton
doc#1533	olyan sorozatokban fordult meg, mint a Két	<b>pasi</b> - meg egy kicsi, az Agymenők, a Boston
doc#1562	egy lakatlan szigetre ? ( vilibacsi ) - A	<b>pasimat</b> , egy dobozt, ami mindig feltöltődik a
doc#1562	Chandler.Bing86 ] - Hát én, mint Facér	<b>Pasi</b> , csak lányoknak szoktam tanácsok adni
doc#1565	bízatosan nem, mert maximum elhúúz mellettem egy	<b>pasi</b> , akit soha többé nem látok . Diszkóba
doc#1565	képviseli a vágyait . Ha megtetszik neki egy	<b>pasi</b> , akkor addig machinál, amíg meg nem szerzi
doc#1565	, hogy még nem feködött le lannel, az új	<b>pasijával</b> , Rob a lehető legtipikusabb férfimódon
doc#1607	tanácsolja neki, hogy szedjen fel magának egy	<b>pasit</b> egy éjszakára . Lölle végű talál is valakit
doc#1608	Bennetért, aki East Gackle egyik legjobb	<b>pasijának</b> számít. </p><p> Szereplők </p><p> Teri : Jen
doc#1672	öyük hallásunkat . Kinek kell egy süket	<b>pasi</b> - írja a kedves hallgató, és akkor a
doc#1724	levonni, hogy ki van benn, ii nincs, az a	<b>pasi</b> is elhagyhat fél év múlva, aki ott áll
doc#1724	kérek megosztást viszont választ igen ...	<b>Pasid</b> 1 : nem áll jól ez a ruha : ( Pasid 2 :
doc#1725	kénytelen vagyok gyorsan . -Fiú : milyen	<b>pasik</b> jönnek be ? -Lány : akiknek kinyitom az
doc#1728	lakásában a teljesen harcra kész, meztelen	<b>pasit</b> és elmenekül a nem létező macskája után
doc#1732	az aki pasi szemmel megmondja a kiszemelt	<b>pasiról</b> , hogy érdemes -e vele kezdeni vagy se
doc#1732	Vagy mert nem akarja ilyen hamar feladni a	<b>pasit</b> ? Gregson és Watson tovább nyomoznak a
doc#1732	vőlegényem, se szifilizsem, se semmilyen néger	<b>pasim</b> . Az igazság az, hogy meghúztak analízisből
doc#1732	fél nap alatt elnyomok minden pénzt meg	<b>pasit</b> is :((( :)))))))))) </p> <opener> <datetime>
doc#1734	házaságra hajtott A műsorvezető tesztelte a	<b>pasikat</b> , hogy kiszűrje, melyikőjük hajjt egyéjszakás
<p><a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a>   oldalszám: 7 ▾ / 13   <a href="#">Ugrás</a>   <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a></p>		

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta

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oldalszám: 8 / 13

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következő | utolsó

doc#1739

doc#1740

doc#1742

doc#1743

doc#1747

doc#1748

doc#1750

doc#1755

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doc#1776

doc#1779

doc#1781

doc#1782

támadott a barátnőd vagy szakított veled a Szeretném ha egy lány lepisilne . 34 éves helyes teremtés legcsodálatosabb művei ? Melyik ajtáját , ott szerezted a monoklidat . A -Cspikérszika folyton alszik , -Hófehérke pedig 7 kiderült , hogy nem haltak ki az udvarias pont , hogy Téged néz ! Uhh ha nem lenne , főleg ha birtokolni akarod . Tökéletes Niall : majd összejősztok .... Louis : a könnyebb , mint eldönteni , hogy tetszel -e a <!-- \_\_EMPTY\_PARAGRAPH\_\_ --> </byline> <p> Új 7 tuti tipp , amire garantáltan buknak a -mondta , és megölelt . ( Ő volt a volt </docAuthor> </byline> <p> A Szőke nő és a Macsó kis verseny volt , a csajok csinosak , <p> Ennyi ajánlatot egy este ..... csak a </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Lány : Az egyetlen szexre . Én már nagyon szeretnék egy rendes látom a legtöbb csaj szeretni ha bunkó vele a <!-- \_\_EMPTY\_PARAGRAPH\_\_ --> </byline> <p> Nem első

pasid

pasi

pasi

Pasi

pasival

pasik

pasim

pasik

pasi

pasinak

pasija

pasik

pasim

pasi

pasik

pasi

pasi

pasit

pasija

pasiként

? Alig várod , hogy bosszút állhass ? </p>

. skype : gabor311 </p> <opener> <dateline>

akar férfias izmokat , deszkahasakat , teljesen összezavarodva kérdezi - És mondd él együtt . :DDDD </p> <opener> <dateline>

: D igaz lányok ? </p> <opener> <dateline>

, eskü eléd állnék : D Nati : Hüü vazz nem léteznek , de egy mindig lesz , aki átver , ethagy .... és itt jövőnk mi a

. Ha a srác már nem gondolja komolyan a van Lucy Liunak A kissé összes , magas ,

! </p> <opener> <dateline> <date ISO8601="2013-08-19">

, és ez nagyon kellemetlen , mert még valamennyire esete . Szőszli és Macsó ül egymás mellett izmosak , jól felkészültek voltak ;) B-) nem veszi észre magát :) </p> <opener>

aki a padlóra küldhet az a Jack Daniels

. Aki szereti , ha kicsit hájasabb a hasam

Hát akkor én inkább maradok egyedül mitnhozy a témában : az enyém asszem közepes . még

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<p>korpusz: MNSZ2</p> <p>találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta</p> <p> <a href="#">első</a>   <a href="#">előző</a> oldalszám: <input type="text" value="9"/> / 13 <input type="button" value="Ugrás"/> <a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a> </p>			
doc#1785		* Tipikus Zayn : így viselkedik mikor a	<b>pasidat</b>
doc#1785		kell egy fiúbarát , aki eljátssza , hogy a	<b>pasija</b>
doc#1787		életedben , na meg a pia meg a lumpolás . Ha	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1789		életedben , na meg a pia meg a lumpolás . Ha	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1790		Life.hu </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Helyes	<b>pasivá</b>
doc#1795		addig mondogatja h nem szereti a full izmos	<b>pasikat</b>
doc#1811		a legjobb barátját összejönne azzal a	<b>pasival</b>
doc#1813		</docAuthor> </byline> <p> Emlékeztető : Két	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1814		és leültem az asztalhoz , és vártam anyum	<b>pasiját</b>
doc#1814		Mire hazajött az apám , aki tud angolul , a	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1815		pont , hogy Téged néz ! Uhh ha nem lenne	<b>pasim</b>
doc#1817		hogy ruhában van -e , mert hiába tettek egy	<b>pasit</b>
doc#1817		a család . Nincs itthon a lakótársam . A	<b>pasim</b>
doc#1818		Lefényképezte , majd feltette az internetre : " Ez a	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1819		életedben , na meg a pia meg a lumpolás . Ha	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1821		István király szobra előtt : - Milyen jó	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1822		Susan Vw </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Ilyen	<b>pasikkal</b>
doc#1828		kell egy fiúbarát , aki eljátssza , hogy a	<b>pasija</b>
doc#1835		István király szobra előtt : - Milyen jó	<b>pasi</b>
doc#1837		a család . Nincs itthon a lakótársam . A	<b>pasim</b>
		utánoza milyen 1 barom ... Utánoza az esit	
		, ha szükség van rá . aki tanácsot ad ,	
		vagy , akkor sármos , ha nő , akkor kegyetlen	
		vagy , akkor sármos , ha nő , akkor kegyetlen	
		cseperedett az egykori gyereksztár Alig	
		es h jajjazolyangáz Amig nem lesz abban	
		akit te szeretsz már elég régóta ? A csaj	
		meg egy kicsi + Spartacus A Viasat3 mutatja	
		. Pár perc elteltével csöngettek . Persze	
		már a reptérrel telefonált , hogy azonnal	
		, eskü eléd állnék : D Nati : Hüü vazz	
		, egy nőt , minden epizódba , azért , mert	
		nem dug meg jól . A csajom prúd . Mert	
		követ " ( lájk ) . Renáta nem volt félős	
		vagy , akkor sármos , ha nő , akkor kegyetlen	
		! És oda is van írva , hogy 975-1038. -	
		is tele van Bp , nemcsak a nőikkel ... egyre	
		, ha szükség van rá . aki tanácsot ad ,	
		! És oda is van írva , hogy 975-1038. -	
		nem dug meg jól . A csajom prúd . Mert	
első	előző	oldalszám: <input type="text" value="9"/> / 13	Ugrás
			<a href="#">következő</a>   <a href="#">utolsó</a>

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 21922 - ebből vett 250 elemű véletlen minta

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doc#1838	mind2 76 : Mit nézek meg legelőször egy	pasin	? semmit 77 : Kít tisztelek a legjobban
doc#1841	gabimami43 </docAuthor> </byline> <p> És a	pasik	is megcsinálják a terhességi tesztet ! </p>
doc#1842	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> Negyvenes sportos	pasí	vagyok . Egy korrekt , szolid fotós hölgyet
doc#1843	kemény külső érző szívet takar " típusú	pasit	képzelttem , kicsit békeőr-külsővel , a
doc#1850	a Brit Rhythm 2013. szeptember 16. A te	pasid	milyen ? Szexi ? Vagány ? Provokatív ?
doc#1854	ilyen kényszer képzeteim . Ariel Van egy	pasim	, amit már említettem . Ő az , aki egyedül
doc#1857	szerelmünket ' ' ... 19 évesen a vadiúj	pasinkat	csókoljuk ... 23 évesen a több éves kapcsolatunkkal
doc#1857	minőségbiztosítási elem a pedagógus maga	Pasi	Sahlberg felhívja a figyelmet , hogy a
doc#1858	kíváncsian lesem a nővérem mellett álló	pasit	. - Sziasztok ! - ölel át bennünket Anya
doc#1859	</byline> <p> Ezen a képen hasonlít arra a	pasíra	, aki a Hannibálban játszott és lerágták
doc#1860	Ilona </docAuthor> </byline> <p> Egy öreg	pasí	megszólít egy nőt : - Hölgyem , megharaphatom
doc#1861	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> Akarom / Imádom ezt a	pasit	. </p> <opener> <dateline> <date ISO8601="2013-09-26">
doc#1862	életedben , na meg a pia meg a lumpolás . Ha	pasi	vagy , akkor sármos , ha nő , akkor kegyetlen
doc#1866	miért van az , hogy a gazdag nők gazdag	pasit	akarnak ? Mert azt értem , hogy a szegény
doc#1867	különböző extrém idomú lányokra gerjedő	pasik	félreteszik ellenérzésüket az XXL-es méretekkel
doc#1871	érzékenyek vagyunk , és egyformán rajongunk a	pasikért	. Emellett a meleg srákok gyakran idolizálják
doc#1871	<p> kék szem és a zöld szem a legszebb egy	pasinak	azokért élek , halok </p> <opener> <dateline>
doc#1892	van , hogy ne vidd túlzásba a romantikus	pasi	jellemét . Tudom , hogy eddig sem tetted
doc#1898	</byline> <p> Mennyi kését viselnek el a	pasik	az első randin ? - Meglepő kutatási eredmény
doc#1903	kutatók érdekes összefüggést figyeltek meg a	pasik	, a szerelem és a gyaloglási sebesség között

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## Appendix 5: 100-piece random sample of collocations *minden* (“every”) + NŐ (“woman”)

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 2388 - ebből vett 100 elemű véletlen minta

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doc#239	tudom </p><p> mikor pedig tudom </p> <p> <b>Minden</b>	nő	klasszikus </p><p> Nincsen egy se akivel
doc#347	felelőssé tehető nőt ( nők számára <b>minden</b>	nő	rivális ) vagy éppen valami tovább pletykálható
doc#373	Nem képzeli magáról nagyot . Ma már <b>minden</b>	nő	Madame Curie vagy Lollobrigida . Végül
doc#960	bizonygatnom kell magamnak , hogy nem <b>minden</b>	nő	ilyen ! </p> <byline> <docAuthor> banya </docAuthor>
doc#962	hapsik , annyira igénytelenek , hogy <b>minden</b>	nőt	meg akarnak ízélni - jobbára - utána meg
doc#973	" center " &gt; &lt; strong &gt; <b>Minden</b>	nőnek	! &lt; /strong &gt; &lt; p align = " center
doc#976	Pál apostol mondásával : Nem lehet <b>minden</b>	nőt	megkérni , de arra kell törekedni . Az Úr
doc#982	: - I </p><p> És hát persze , hogy <b>minden</b>	nő	megszerezhető , mint ahogy minden férfi
doc#999	gondolom , hogy minden nő kurva , vagy <b>minden</b>	nő	hülye , akit el lehet csábítani ... </p>
	kedves vagyok minden lánnyal , mégis elhagy <b>minden</b>	nő	! A haverom szemét velük , mégis buknak
	14-től 60 éves korig , valamint <b>minden</b>	nő	15-től 50 éves korig . Ez alól felmentést
doc#1052	is a " kommunista társadalomban <b>minden</b>	nő	és minden férfi ugyanolyan " , mint ahogy
doc#1062	biztosítani a választás szabadságát . <b>Minden</b>	nőnek	joga , hogy hivatást válasszon , de az
	Két hajmosás közti villámkúra . <b>Minden</b>	nő	sámára megfelelő , akinek kevés az ideje
	szereplőket , de a templomba belépő <b>minden</b>	nőt	is . Az iskolások egyébként az RMDSZ Templom
	billentette aszkétafejét . </p><p> - <b>Minden</b>	nőnek	kezet csókolsz . Miért ? Ágyban parányi
	. " - Most tegyük fel , hogy nem <b>minden</b>	nő	felelne így , nem érzitek mégis e kérdésben
	valamennyit utálom , s valóban utált <b>minden</b>	nőt	. Erről is a nők tehetnek , az anyám tehet
	kislányát kereste . Lehetőség szerint <b>minden</b>	nőt	megszólított , aki a karján számot viselt
	volna a Szűzanyát a női névre méltó <b>minden</b>	nőben	. Talán mások észre se vették , hogy különleges

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 2388 - ebből vett 100 elemű véletlen minta

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	birtokába jutott a titoknak . </p><p> De <b>minden</b>	nőnek	van egy olyan bizalmas barátnője ... stb.
	gyümölcs itt előtte hullófélben van . <b>Minden</b>	nő	ilyen példálózásan kezdi , ha át akarja gyorsan hidalni azt a huzavonát
	alaposan elemezték figuráikat , a <b>minden</b>	nőt	elcsábítani próbáló gyógyszerügynököt és
	közé . 4. Az egyszerűség kedvéért <b>minden</b>	nőt	ugyanúgy hívnának . 5. Minden nő allergiás
doc#1326	hivatkozott szövivője , hogy a vajúdás <b>minden</b>	nőnél	más , a szóban forgó kismamánál pedig nagyon
doc#1332	várható . </p> <head> <title> Nem <b>minden</b>	nő	mehet nyugdíjba negyven év után </title>
doc#1335	után , életkortól függetlenül , <b>minden</b>	nő	nyugdíjba mehet . Augusztusban Iván László
doc#1348	képviselőt , hogy a kijelentésért <b>minden</b>	nőtől	kérjen bocsánatot . Louis Michel belga
doc#1352	kapcsán , hogy messzemenően támogatja <b>minden</b>	nő	anyasághoz való jogát , megjegyezve , hogy
doc#1387	másra vállalkozik , mint megmutatni <b>minden</b>	nőnek	, hogy szex és SZEK között micsoda különbség
doc#1387	alapigazságot a női orgazmusról , amit <b>minden</b>	nőnek	és partnerének tudnia kell . </p> <opener>
doc#1394	elterjedt közöttük ; kivétel nélkül <b>minden</b>	nőt	anyukának hívnak , pedig a 33 közül vagy
doc#1396	alapvető női archetípust éli meg <b>minden</b>	nő	, minden hónapban . Ezek a szűz , az anya
doc#1408	<!-- filmklub --> <p> " A férfiak <b>minden</b>	nővel	le akarnak feküdni , aki tetszik nekik
doc#1408	másik nő mellett ébred Csányi Sándor <b>minden</b>	nővel	lefekhet- Amikor voltál nálunk chaten 2006
doc#1427	államtitkár ugyanakkor azt mondta , hogy <b>minden</b>	nőnek	joga van eldönteni , hogy mi akar lenni
doc#1475	mi az oka ? </p><p> A párom szerint <b>minden</b>	nő	alkalmas rá , ő állítólag az eddigi partnereit
doc#1475	már-már kóros , hogy Hollywoodban <b>minden</b>	nő	betegesen fogyókúrázik , mert úgy gondolja
doc#1477	volt menyasszonya így átverte . <b>Minden</b>	nőt	lenéz - engem is nagyon sokszor megalázott
doc#1477	felkapható . </p><p> A stylist véleménye : <b>Minden</b>	nőnek	kötelező tartania egy nyers és egy sötét színű példányt ebből a fazonból

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doc#1489	Hogyan lett Szájbergerek szerelmes <i>minden</i>	nőbe	? A Kistehén gyors felfutásának és jelenlegi
doc#1518	kipróbálta Szepesi egy sportolóval " <i>Minden</i>	nő	őt akarta , megőrijtett mindenkit . A mosolyával
doc#1519	hogya hölgy be is csapja . Mivel <i>minden</i>	nő	más és más , az orgazmus is különféleképpen jelentkezhet
doc#1560	alatt chippendale táncost , aki <i>minden</i>	nő	vágyát képes kielégíteni . </p><p> Anett
doc#1566	<head rend="BO"> A Kistehén szerelmes <i>minden</i>	nőbe	</head> <!-- http://www.origo.hu/zene/20061129kistehen.html -->
doc#1568	Garanciát vállal arra is , hogy <i>minden</i>	nő	életkortól függetlenül negyven évnyi munkaviszony után nyugdíjba vonulhasson
doc#1637	Kistehén Tánczenekar - Szerelmes vagyok <i>minden</i>	nőbe	- 2006 </p><p> Kollár Laci és a Kistehén
doc#1650	választották a szülők . Csaknem <i>minden</i>	nőnek	Th&#x1ecb; ( &#x6c0f; ) volt a középső
doc#1667	hallgató " Jesszus , Isten mentse meg <i>minden</i>	nőt	az ilyen rendmániás pasitól ! " Ugye az
doc#1703	disztigvált , elegáns megjelenés , ez <i>minden</i>	nő	számára elérhető . " </p><p> Rip.- Elbi Csilla
doc#1707	nem vették figyelembe , hogy nem <i>minden</i>	nő	karcsú , vagy nem minden nő molett , hol
doc#1708	négy karakter van , szinte egyik <i>minden</i>	nőre	ráillik . Szerintem nincs nő , aki egyszerűen
doc#1725	szükségeltetik , meg ugye az , hogy <i>minden</i>	nő	teljesítménykanca legyen ... A hivatalos
doc#1729	hogya lassan 60 leszek , itthon már <i>minden</i>	nő	tojik a fejemre , de itt a face-en meg
doc#1734	rendszerességét a család meghittségét . <i>Minden</i>	nőben	két lélek lakozik az egyik angyal a másik a másik " ördög "
doc#1735	üldözőbe veszed . Ez a játék része . <i>Minden</i>	nő	ösztönösen tudja , hogy menekülnie kell
doc#1738	József </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i>	nő	egyforma . Nem hiszem el , hogy nincs köztük
doc#1743	Varga </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i>	nő	megérdemel egy pasit , aki még akkor is
doc#1744	amíg meg nem érted , el nem fogadod <i>minden</i>	nőben	él a lélek , csak egy üres tükör maradsz
doc#1745	amíg meg nem érted , el nem fogadod <i>minden</i>	nőben	él a lélek , csak egy üres tükör maradsz



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doc#1745	amíg meg nem érted , el nem fogadod <i>minden</i> nőben	él a lélek , csak egy üres tükör maradsz
doc#1747	egy olyan országban élni , ahol <i>minden</i> nőnek	havonta lenne egy hét szabadsága , szeretnék
doc#1753	Boldogságkutató </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>MINDEN</i> NŐ	MÖGÖTT .. TÁRSKERESŐ : <a href="http://www.Ratalalsz.hu/facebook1">www.Ratalalsz.hu/facebook1</a>
doc#1758	Sarolta Rada </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i> nő	megérdemel egy pasit , aki még akkor is
doc#1783	kielégíteni , ha leköpték a farkát . - <i>Minden</i> nőt	felizgat , ha lekurvázzák , még a szüzeket
doc#1790	Hontalan </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i> nő	megérdemel egy pasit , aki még akkor is
doc#1794	áttáncolja ,, az éjszakát . Szinte <i>minden</i> nőben	vonzónak talál valamit ... Talán nem is
doc#1795	</byline> <p> 5 férfitípus , amit <i>minden</i> nőnek	ki kell próbálnia Házasodni egyikkel sem
doc#1796	Férjhez megy a legjobb barátnőm ! <i>Minden</i> nő	életében bekövetkezik ez a nap . Hova tovább
doc#1806	, mégsem . És vajon miért mondom <i>minden</i> nőnek	azt ( és ez kivételesen nem flórtszöveg
doc#1818	anyaság ! Milyen nagyszerű lenne , ha <i>minden</i> nő	hasonlóképpen érezne és cselekedne gyermekével
doc#1819	Segíted a nők önbecsülését ! HISZ <i>MINDEN</i> NŐ	SZÉP , AKI SZERET ! # Enn . </p> <opener>
doc#1822	nőké ... - Nézzétek , hogy bámulja <i>minden</i> nő	! - Hát , van is mit ! Tényleg jó pasi
doc#1822	ezek a szerepek nagyon fontos és kreatív alkotóelemei <i>minden</i> nő	életének , és ha a nő ezt választja , az
doc#1844	aranyfürtös hajába a Gerő atya szerint is <i>minden</i> nő	szerelmes volt , Jézus mindent tud rólam
doc#1871	férfit ' uram ' -nak szólítottam , <i>minden</i> nőt	pedig ' asszonyom ' -nak vagy ' kisasszony
doc#1877	szűzhártya is csak egy mítosz . Mivel <i>minden</i> nőnek	más és más alakú és vastagságú a szűzhártyája
doc#1878	<!-- __EMPTY_PARAGRAPH__ --> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i> nő	életében eljön a .. &gt;&gt; </p> <opener>
doc#1884	napok menstruáció nők test tinédzser <i>Minden</i> nő	életében eljön a pillanat, amikor a természet örvényei szerint nővé válik
doc#1885	aki komolyan vesz és nem mondja <i>minden</i> nőnek	, hogy szeretem ! Jó éjszakát és gyönyörű

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doc#1898	Bakos </docAuthor> </byline> <p> " Ha <b>minden</b>	nő	normális pasira várna , már kihalt volna az emberiség
doc#1902	válogatásra , de kiderült , hogy egy <b>minden</b>	nőt	megcsaló macsót kellett volna alakítania
doc#1911	Ruzsics </docAuthor> </byline> <p> " <b>Minden</b>	nő	megérdemel egy pasit , aki még akkor is
doc#1937	közé . 4. Az egyszerűség kedvéért <b>minden</b>	nőt	ugyanúgy hívnának . 5. Minden nő allergiás
doc#1940	azzal szembenézni . A lelke mélyén <b>minden</b>	nő	vágyik rá , hogy végre megélhesse magában a ' gyenge nőt ' is
doc#1950	Richárd </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <b>Minden</b>	nőnek	azt kéne meg érteni , hogy hiába van tőlle szebb , jobb
doc#1969	Nyolcvan éves vagyok , de mellettem <b>minden</b>	nő	ébren tölti az éjszakát ! - dicsekszik
doc#1970	Nyolcvan éves vagyok , de mellettem <b>minden</b>	nő	ébren tölti az éjszakát ! - dicsekszik
doc#1981	lőhetsz mellé ! Ajándékok , amiknek <b>minden</b>	nő	örül Sokan választanak kozmetikai termékeket
doc#1989	lőhetsz mellé ! Ajándékok , amiknek <b>minden</b>	nő	örül Sokan választanak kozmetikai termékeket
doc#1990	dekoltázst varázsolnak . Ünnepejünk <b>minden</b>	nőt	! Aréna Plaza , Allee , Győr-Belváros </p>
doc#1998	</byline> <p> Nem az az igazi férfi , aki <b>minden</b>	nőt	meghódít , hanem az aki képes feladni mindent
doc#1998	Simon </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <b>Minden</b>	nő	mögött van egy férfi aki megbántotta ,
doc#2007	Add tovább ezeket a gondolatokat <b>minden</b>	nőnek	, akit csak ismersz . Ha ezt megteszed
doc#2007	Segíted a nők önbecsülését ! HISZ <b>MINDEN</b>	NŐ	SZÉP , AKI SZERET ! - vele : Edit Csillámné
doc#2007	látszólag minden ok nélkül ? " " <b>Minden</b>	nő	ok nélkül sír . " - Ez volt minden , amit
doc#2009	</byline> <p> Ez a temperamentumos cupé <b>minden</b>	nő	álma ! - SEAT Leon FR teszt </p> <opener>
doc#2014	</byline> <p> Ez a temperamentumos cupé <b>minden</b>	nő	álma ! - SEAT Leon FR teszt </p> <opener>
doc#2015	Segíted a nők önbecsülését ! HISZ <b>MINDEN</b>	NŐ	SZÉP , AKI SZERET ! - vele : Edit Csillámné
doc#2015	Add tovább ezeket a gondolatokat <b>minden</b>	nőnek	, akit csak ismersz . Ha ezt megteszed

## Appendix 6: 100-piece random sample of collocations *minden* (“every”) + FÉRFI (“man”)

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doc#310	Keleten rég bebizonyította , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	a majomtól származik , csak a nők nem .
doc#362	matrózok használatára . De hisz <i>minden</i>	férfi	voltaképpen tengerész , ki ne tudná Odüsszeusz
doc#367	omlik : ma minden nő Szűzmária , s <i>minden</i>	férfi	Hozzá hasonlít . Ne menj a tóra ! Csupa
doc#464	APRÓHÍRDETÉSEINK KÖZÖTT a HÁZASSÁG rovatban <i>minden</i>	férfi	megtalálja azt a nőt , akivel boldog lehet
doc#548	gondoltam , hogy bár meghalna a földön <i>minden</i>	férfi	rajtam kívül , mert akkor ez a lány kénytelen
doc#679	az egész világ És színész benne <i>minden</i>	férfi	és nő : Fellép s lelép ; s mindenkit sok
doc#680	a komédiát , hajam beleőszült . <i>Minden</i>	férfi	bandita , minden asszony örült . Gyomrom
doc#700	késsel járt utánam ! Féltékenységében <i>minden</i>	férfinak	nekiment , míg végül aztán rendőrt hívtam
doc#756	akkor öt napig is csak annyi nekem <i>minden</i>	férfi	szobavendég , mint egy köpés . Ennyi ni
doc#960	Hogy van ez ? Tegye szívére a kezét <i>minden</i>	férfi	, akinek a partnere tablettát szed , okozott
doc#968	részvétem a vőlegényednek . Kár Érte , <i>minden</i>	férfiért	kár , akire lecsap a házasság lélekölő embertelen vértkiváló
doc#972	csakis a saját férje ölhet meg . <i>Minden</i>	férfi	szabadságmegsemmisítő keze
doc#983	jó családanya nem hiszem , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	tudja a másikfeleségéről , hogy az kurva
doc#990	a vacsit hamar letudni , hiszen <i>minden</i>	férfi	odébb áll , csak meg kell találni ... </p>
doc#991	általánosságban _A_ férfiakat ( tehát <i>minden</i>	férfit	tudja , a konyha nem csak időtrabló , de de strapás is
doc#995	Nemcsak az lesz lehetséges , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfinak	) , így kérdések merülnek fel az apa szerepével
doc#995	lehetetlenné tennétek ! Sok szerencsét <i>minden</i>	férfinak	a világ lexebb asszonya legyen a párja
doc#1000	) . 1. Látni kell , hogy szinte <i>minden</i>	férfi	, remélem az életben jobban csináljátok
	viselője sokszor maga is azt hiszi , <i>minden</i>	férfi	megpróbál objektív , tehát mérhető alapon tehát mérhető alapon megítélni
doc#1140	köztetek s utánad utódaid között : <i>Minden</i>	férfit	dolgokat
			csak ,, azt ´ ´ akarja . A külvilág szerint
			körül kell metélni közületek , mégpedig

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doc#1149	kell oly irányban haladnia , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	a családalapítói , s minden not a feleség s a feleség és anyai hivatás
doc#1151	angyaloknak : &gt;&gt; Menjetek le és <i>minden</i>	férfi	betöltésére elokészítsen és képesítsen
	sóhajtva megnyugszik . - Voltaképen <i>minden</i>	férfinak	tartsatok távol tőle ! &lt;&lt; Ezt nem
	</speaker> <p> Olyan korlátolt vagy , mint <i>minden</i>	férfi	szégyenkeznie kellene emiatt - s nem szabadna
	meg Kálmánnak , hogy elvitt . Nem <i>minden</i>	férfi	. Az okot és az időt kutatód , ahelyett
	karattyolta . - Elhallgass , nyeltes és <i>minden</i>	férfi	ilyen gavallér . Kálmán szobáját kitakarítottam
	behussanva a hálósobába is . A mamáról <i>minden</i>	férfinak	, akik egyébbel sem vagytok elfoglalva
	ennyi káprázatos hölgy társaságában <i>minden</i>	férfi	ugyanaz jut az eszébe , jegyzett , kiállítási
	vagyok , mindenkiben őt látom , <i>minden</i>	férfinak	boldog lehetne , neki ellenben az volt
	Dolgom van az életben . Az élet <i>minden</i>	férfinak	őt látom , mondta magában , bár nem tudta
	kellett megőszülnöm ... </p><p> - <i>Minden</i>	férfi	újra kezdődik . Mindnek újra kell fölmutatni
	, kicsoda . Az én társaságomban <i>minden</i>	férfi	pénzért nőszül - mondta Kainisz gonoszul
	érzéssel , mely csak egy férfit lát <i>minden</i>	férfi	belém volt és ma is belém van esve . -
	legkisebb fuvalma is elriasztja . <i>Minden</i>	férfi	között , és csak egy nőt minden nő között
	felhívni a figyelmet arra , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	annak dől be legjobban , hogy a nőt ellenszolgáltatás nélkül kapja meg
	, pruszlikot , pendelyt . </p><p> <i>Minden</i>	férfi	50 év felett keresse fel urológusát , nézesse
	B-vitaminban ) . </p><p> " A világon <i>minden</i>	férfi	bajuszt hordott ( némely ténsasszony is
doc#1351	a világon minden olyan nemzet és <i>minden</i>	férfi	, nő és gyerek Marmite imádó &ndash; csak
doc#1356	vár el Mariontól ? - Feltehetően <i>minden</i>	férfi	, nő és gyerek barátja , amely , illetve
doc#1356	fájlalja , mondván , New Yorkban már <i>minden</i>	férfi	törődést , gondoskodást vár el a nőtől
		férfi	metroszexuális , ezzel szemben Budapesten

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doc#1386	hinni tud . De ne csüggedj : idővel <i>minden</i>	férfi	ráeszmél , hogy senki sem tökéletes . Ráeszmél
doc#1386	<!-- egyeb --> <p> A szépséges Milla Jovovich <i>minden</i>	férfi	álma , ám barátnőként nehezen tolerálható
doc#1399	óvatlan pillanatban . Így most már <i>minden</i>	férfi	tudhatja , hogy a leszegett fej és oldalirányba
doc#1406	Vincent Vega között arról , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	besorolható Beatles-ember és Elvis-ember kategóriákba
doc#1406	szegény , kivérzett Angliája , ahol <i>minden</i>	férfi	olyan helyeken szolgált a seregben , ahová
doc#1409	azóta sem . De tény , hogy szerintem <i>minden</i>	férfi	, legyen színész , vagy sem , elképzeleti, milyen lehet James Bondot eljátszani
doc#1476	lehet rá , hiszen ez a megmérettetés <i>minden</i>	férfi	álma . Felejtsek el a díjátadókat vagy
doc#1476	okozott neki . Talán azt hiszi , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	egyforma . Pedig - hiszed vagy sem - semmi
doc#1539	Marson . Gratulálok és köszönöm <i>minden</i>	férfi	és nő munkáját , aki hozzájárult ehhez
doc#1562	legjobb melle a BK-ban ? ( zipom ) - <i>Minden</i>	férfi	szeme más . Szerintem nem is képernyős
doc#1566	energia , mely összeköt bennünket . <i>Minden</i>	férfi	, minden nő , minden faj , minden nemzet
doc#1569	számára ? Természetesen az , hogy nem <i>minden</i>	férfi	gondolkodik a szemével , és azoknak a férfiaknak
doc#1606	Epizód ) </p><p> Szép , ravasz és <i>minden</i>	férfi	álma . Az igazi kaliforniai szőkeség ,
doc#1632	is meglehetősen bonyolult volt . <i>Minden</i>	férfinak	, aki együtt kívánt lenni egy oirannal
doc#1645	próféta . Éppen ezért az ima kötelező <i>minden</i>	férfi	és nő számára , aki elérte már a pubertás
doc#1668	már akár engem is , mert hogy hát <i>minden</i>	férfi	akkor igazán férfi , hogyha ugye körül van metélve
doc#1715	egyre nő az elkeseredés . </p> <p> <i>Minden</i>	férfi	évente 15 napra fogjon maga fegyvert és
doc#1730	vállaljanak . Egy férfi egy nővel . Ehhez <i>minden</i>	férfinak	, nőnek joga van . Nincsenek kirekesztve
doc#1730	l&#x00e0;ttam .... volt nem szeret senki , <i>minden</i>	férfi	/ nő szemét , hi&#x00e0;ba szarsz rám én
doc#1745	nemrég hunyt el . Úgy ment el , ahogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	szeretne : szex közben . Nagymamám zokogva

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 1498 - ebből vett 100 elemű véletlen minta

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doc#1750	Norbert </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <b>Minden</b>	férfi	életében csak egy nő létezik , a többi
doc#1766	iránymutatásokra . Nekünk sincs . 1. <b>Minden</b>	férfi	csak 16 színben lát , mint a Windows alapbeállításnál
doc#1773	- Van okod aggodalomra ? Szinte <b>minden</b>	férfi	szokott nézni pornót , és egy bizonyos
doc#1775	, Sándor , és a főpapi családok <b>minden</b>	férfi	tagja . [ a ] 7 Előhozatták az apostolokat
doc#1776	Menyhazi </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <b>Minden</b>	férfi	szabadon választhat , felesége legyen vagy egészsége
doc#1778	, Sándor , és a főpapi családok <b>minden</b>	férfi	tagja . [ a ] 7 Előhozatták az apostolokat
doc#1788	17.századi francia író szerint ,, <b>minden</b>	férfi	úgy bánt egy nővel , ahogy lehet ,, És
doc#1809	a teáját . Negyven éves korában <b>minden</b>	férfinak	el kellene kezdeni ezt a teát inni , hetente
doc#1809	a teáját . Negyven éves korában <b>minden</b>	férfinak	el kellene kezdeni ezt a teát inni , hetente
doc#1821	város vize beszennyeződött , és <b>minden</b>	férfi	, nő és gyermek megőrült . Csak a király
doc#1823	város vize beszennyeződött , és <b>minden</b>	férfi	, nő és gyermek megőrült . Csak a király
doc#1832	Bárcsak ne dolgoztam volna olyan sokat . " <b>Minden</b>	férfi	betegem szájából elhangzott . Sajnálták
doc#1834	dolgoztam volna olyan sokat . " <b>Minden</b>	férfi	betegem szájából elhangzott . Sajnálták
doc#1840	Nyilván inkább feminista , hisz nem <b>minden</b>	férfira	vonatkozik , csak egy bizonyos típusra
doc#1859	annál jobban kell kinézned ! 3. , <b>Minden</b>	férfi	életében csak egy nő létezik , a többi
doc#1866	ivászat ésatöbbiésatöbbi .. nem <b>minden</b>	férfi	ilyen .... ezt maga is tudja . </p> <opener>
doc#1877	az egész világ , és színész benne <b>minden</b>	férfi	és nő - csak fel kell fedezni őket . A
doc#1883	</docAuthor> </byline> <p> Tisztelet <b>minden</b>	férfinak	aki azt mondja : nem lehet van barátnőm
doc#1884	miért nem tudott az lenni velem ? <b>Minden</b>	férfi	ilyen ? Akár milyen keves a tapasztalatom
doc#1891	, Krisztus feje pedig az Isten . <b>Minden</b>	férfi	, aki fedett fővel imádkozik vagy prófétál, szégyent hoz fejére

korpusz: MNSZ2

találatok száma: 1498 - ebből vett 100 elemű véletlen minta

[első](#) | [előző](#)

oldalszám:

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doc#1892	háztól , a nő azt gondolja , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfi	személtáda . , ?????? </p> <opener> <dateline>
doc#1898	az egész világ , és színész benne <i>minden</i>	férfi	és nő - csak fel kell fedezni őket . A
doc#1899	Csakis és kizárólag tetteikkel . <i>Minden</i>	férfi	, akibe szorult némi büszkeség , tettvágy, alkotásra való hajlam , azaz amitől férfiként lehet
doc#1903	Uzorás </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i>	férfinak	szüksége van egy feleségre , mert van egy
doc#1905	. ( ... ) Amikor felkelt a nap , <i>minden</i>	férfi	és minden nő visszatért a saját házába
doc#1909	le .. ' ' Egy bomba csaj , szinte <i>minden</i>	férfi	álma , a kocsmában odalép a pulthoz és
doc#1917	. ( ... ) Amikor felkelt a nap , <i>minden</i>	férfi	és minden nő visszatért a saját házába
doc#1919	Péter </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i>	férfi	és nő idővel ugyanazt fogja visszakapni
doc#1920	Novák </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i>	férfinak	szüksége van egy feleségre , mert van egy
doc#1921	idő lesz ! Holnaptól jön a hideg . <i>Minden</i>	férfinak	szüksége van egy feleségre , mert van egy
doc#1922	egy nagy süti , és morzsa benne <i>minden</i>	férfi	és nő . Én pedig a csokidisz vagyok az
doc#1926	</byline> <p> @ guma : drága guma , <i>minden</i>	férfi	disznó , de nem mindegyik ! letörném a
doc#1927	erős nő kifejezés - tudjátok , aki <i>minden</i>	férfi	mögött ott áll , aki összetart egy családot
doc#1935	</byline> <p> Egy bomba csaj , szinte <i>minden</i>	férfi	álma , a kocsmában odalép a pulthoz és
doc#1951	. Szeretném , ha tudnátok , hogy <i>minden</i>	férfinak	feje a Krisztus , az asszony feje a férfi
doc#1961	: Ja , nem a tiédről volt szó ?! <i>Minden</i>	férfinak	szüksége van egy feleségre , mert van egy
doc#1988	10-99&quot ; .... Itt most elnézést kérek <i>minden</i>	férfitől	, aki ugyanezt jelölte be , de szöveget ütött
doc#1990	spirituális megoldásra , amelyben <i>minden</i>	férfi	, nő és gyermek ezen a Föld nevű bolygón
doc#1996	Bence </docAuthor> </byline> <p> <i>Minden</i>	férfi	( és nő ) álma , hogy megtalálja az Igazít
doc#1998	Baci bejegyzései ÚJRATÖLTVE ! " <i>Minden</i>	férfi	életében csak egy nő létezik , a többi

**Appendix 7: Random sample of collocations *minden* (“every”) + CSAJ (“gal”)**

<b><i>minden</i> + CSAJ</b>		<b>translation</b>
<b>1</b>	Ülök és hallom, hogy minden csaj kurva, nekik olyan csaj kéne aki...	I am sitting and listening to them saying that every gal is a whore, they want a gal like
<b>2</b>	ne foglalkozz Norbival minden csajjal ezt csinálja. Legalább is a szépekkel	don't care about Norbi, he does the same with every gal, at least the beautiful ones
<b>3</b>	amit lehetett meg tettem érted. És ennek minden csaj örülne de	I did everything I could for you. And every gal would be happy about this but
<b>4</b>	Haha. Minden csaj addig mondogatja h nem szereti a full izmos pasikat	Haha. Every gal keeps saying she doesn't like all-muscle guys until
<b>5</b>	Tudod minden csajnak bejött ez stílus	You know every gal digs this style
<b>6</b>	Mr meg minden csajnak "udvarol "	Mr “courts” every gal



**Appendix 8: Random sample of collocations *minden* (“every”) + PASI (“guy”)**

<b><i>minden</i> + PASI</b>		<b>translation</b>
<b>1</b>	Ez a srác majd megdöglik érted. Minden pasi királylányra vágyik	This boy is crazy about you. Every guy dreams about a princess
<b>2</b>	A minden pasi szörnyeteg - téveszme	That every guy is a monster is a misconception
<b>3</b>	A 4 legizgatóbb szexfantázia: minden pasi kipróbálná őket	The 4 most exciting sex fantasies: every guy would try them
<b>4</b>	Üzenem minden olyan lánynak, aki szerint minden pasi ugyan olyan	Here’s to all the girls who think every guy is the same
<b>5</b>	Minden fiú, minden srác, minden pasi keresi magában a férfit	Every boy, every lad, every guy is looking for the man inside himself
<b>6</b>	Ne legyél büszke ha minden pasinak te kellesz... olcsó terméknek bizony sok vásárlója akad	Don’t be proud that every guy wants you ... cheap goods attract many buyers
<b>7</b>	tudjuk a sztereotípiát: minden pasi a lepedőakrobata lányokat akarja	we know the stereotype: every guy wants sex-machine girls

## Appendix 9: Brand descriptions of Hungarian magazines

### *Cosmopolitan*

<https://centralmediacsoport.hu/termekportfolio/magazin/divat-lapcsoport/cosmopolitan/>

**Miénk a világ! – ezt az életérzést nyújtja hónapról hónapra a világ legsikeresebb lapja fiatal nőknek.** A Cosmopolitan nemcsak egy brand, hanem fogalom is, hisz nincs olyan ország, ahol ne ismernék a magazint, amely 1997 óta jelenik meg hazánkban.

A lap olvasójának, Cosmo-lánynak lenni azt jelenti, hogy bármit elérhetsz, amit szeretnél, hisz a Cosmopolitan a legjobb barátnődként áll melletted mindenben. Első kézből tudhatod meg a divat, a szépségápolás, a sztárvilág legfrissebb híreit, de kaphatsz az egészségedre, a szexuális életedre és a párkapcsolatodra vonatkozó tanácsokat is! Cosmót olvasni azt jelenti, hogy egy világméretű klubba tartozol, és a siker kulcsát tartod a kezvedben.

#### Pillérek

- Szépség és divat
- Életmód
- Párkapcsolatok
- Karrier
- Szórakozás
- Szex

#### Célcsoport

18–39 éves, közép- vagy felsőfokú végzettségű, városi, életvidám, aktív fiatal nők

### *Joy „A világ, ahogy te szereted”*

<http://www.marquardmedia.hu/publishing/brands/joy>

Az 1998-ban a magyar piacra lépő JOY hosszú évek óta hazánk piacvezető női magazinja. A JOY mindig ott van, ahol történnek a dolgok, így első kézből informálja olvasóit az újdonságokról, trendekről, a nemzetközi és a hazai sztárvilág történéseiről, a legújabb divatirányzatokról, szépségápolási stílusokról, termékekről.

A JOY magazin minden egyes oldala igyekszik mosolyt csalni az olvasók arcára pozitív hangvétellő, derős írásaival, képanyagaival, és arra ösztönöz, hogy mindig az élet napos oldalát keressük. Ehhez minden hónapban párkapcsolati témákkal, önismeretről szóló

írásokkal, hasznos karriertanácsokkal és kulturális ajánlókcal is segíti olvasóit, hogy a legjobbat hozzassák ki magukból.

"Az új mottónk ennyi: A világ, ahogy te szereted! Ez is jól tükrözi, hogy csupa olyan témával foglalkozunk a megújult JOY magazinban, melyek közel állnak olvasóink szívéhez. Idén lettünk 18 évesek, így elérkezettnek láttuk az időt, hogy egy kicsit komolyabban vegyük az életet. A saját utad keresed? Keményen dolgozol, hogy megállj a helyed a világban? Szeretnél érvényesülni az élet több területén is? Ugyanakkor rendületlenül hiszel a szerelemben vagy az emberi jóságban? Ha a válasz igen, akkor jó helyen vagy! A JOY magazint neked készítettük és reméljük, hogy nemcsak hűséges társad, de személyes tanácsadód és segítséged is tudunk lenni. Jusson eszedbe, nincs több mellébeszélés, ez a JOY már nem az a JOY!"

- A Joy-olvasók 82%-a 39 évnél fiatalabb, 92%-a közép- vagy felsőfokú végzettségű, 80%-ban városlakó. 88%-uk okostelefonnal rendelkezik és közülük 92% jelen van a Facebookon
- A női magazinok közül az olvasók a JOY-t nevezték meg a legtöbbször a leginkább preferált magazinnak (75%), ezzel a JOY maga mögé utasít minden más női lapot (Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Elle, Nők Lapja, Marie Claire).
- A JOY-image az olvasók szerint: A JOY egy szórakoztató, vidám, laza, felszabadult, könnyed lap, amely változatos, élettel teli, színes és élénk, ugyanakkor van benne energia és függetlenségre való törekvés. A JOY középpontjában a külső, a divat áll, ahol a sokszínűség a lényeg, a magazin egyéb tartalmi elemei pedig hozzájárulnak a változatossághoz. Olvasóink szerint a Joy rendkívül mozgalmas, inspiráló, vidám életformát jelenít meg.

### ***Playboy „Férfias szórakozás”***

<http://www.marquardmedia.hu/publishing/brands/playboy>

A Playboy a világ talán legismertebb magazinja, neve mindenhol egyet jelent a minőségi szórakozással, az egyedi és utánozhatatlan Playboy-életérzéssel. A magyar kiadás a szórakoztatás mellett különösen nagy hangsúlyt fektet az olvasmányos tartalomra, az elgondolkodtató publicisztikákra, a különlegesen mély interjúkra és a minőségi, egyedi képanyagra.

A folyamatosan változó világra a Playboy mindig reagál, a magazinon kívül izgalmas kezdeményezések keretében mutatjuk meg, milyenek az új idők "új playboyai": teret adunk azoknak a 21. századi magyar férfiaknak, akiknek a hedonizmus mellett fontos az is, hogy szűkebb és tágabb környezetüket minél jobbra tegyék – és hogy ők is értékes nyomot hagyjanak a világban.

"Az amerikai Playboy egyik új mottója a következő: Make yourself a better man! Vagyis: Tedd magad jobb férfivá! Mi viszont már régen ennek a szellemében szerkesztjük a magyar kiadást."

## ***Men's Health „A többi rajtad múlik”***

<http://www.marquardmedia.hu/publishing/brands/menshealth>

A Men's Health, a világ legnagyobb férfimagazinja közel 25 millió olvasóhoz jut el a világon. Fő tartalmi törekvése, hogy a legújabb tudományos eredményeket fordítsa le, a mindennapi életben is egyszerűen alkalmazható tippeket, tanácsokat adjon az egészséges életmódhoz és a modern életvitelhez.

A Men's Health szakmaiságát garantáló tanácsadók, illetve a világméretű adatbázis lehetőséget ad arra, hogy szinte bármilyen témában bemutassuk a legfrisebb kutatási eredményeket, legyen szó akár a nanorobotokkal végzett műtétek kapcsán felmerülő orvosi műhibákról vagy az európai bankkártyahasználati szokásokról. Olvasóink határozott személyiségek, akik a maguk útját járják és szeretik kialakítani a saját álláspontjukat egy-egy kérdésben. A lap biztosítja számukra a megoldásokat, így nekik csak annyit kell eldönteniük, hogy mindezt használják-e. Erre utal szlogenünk is: "A többi rajtad múlik".

"Az amerikaiak azt mondják, a férfilapokat jellemzően a vécén olvassák, a Men's Health viszont olyan magazin, amit magával visz az olvasója, hiszen annyi benne a hasznos tanács. Kollégáimmal azon dolgozunk, hogy ez valóban így legyen."

A Men's Health olvasó

- A sportos és egészségtudatos férfi, aki láthatóan jól érzi magát a bőrében és erre minden oka megvan. Fontos számára a testi és lelki egyensúly, és ezért napi szinten tesz is. Érdeklődő, nyitott, ismereteit folyamatosan bővíti. A számára helyes életviteléhez komoly elhatározásokat megfogalmazó és megvalósító férfi.
- 25–39 év közötti, ABC fogyasztói státuszú, a sporthoz és az egészséges életmódhoz köthető termékekre kimagasló affinitást mutató, jellemzően diplomás, tudatos férfi.

## Appendix 10: 2017-2018 volumes of Hungarian magazines

### *Cosmopolitan* (Apr 2017 - Mar 2018)



### *Joy* (May 2017 – Apr 2018)





*Men's Health (Sep 2017 – Aug 2018)*



*Playboy (Nov 2017 – Oct 2018)*

